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ART. I. — THE CHRIST OF THE GENTILES.

IN a recent number of the Examiner, we reported the conclusions of a famous school of critics in Germany, respecting the view of the nature and function of Christ that characterizes several books of the New Testament. We entitled our article "The Christ of the Jews"; because the names and phrases used in relation to Jesus imply, in the judgment of these scholars, that the writers entertained a Jewish conception of him. We now propose to take up the matter where we left it, and to give the opinions of the same critics respecting the view of Christ contained in other New Testament books. It is needless to repeat that we are uttering no belief of our own, and that we assume the positive form of statement simply as being more convenient and intelligible. We have entitled this article "The Christ of the Gentiles," as denoting in general terms the type of Messianic doctrine that now comes under notice. It is not asserted that the Gentiles had a doctrine of Christ, as definite and coherent as the doctrine held by the Hebrew Christians. The Gentile Christ did not present an idea embodied in an unchanging form, but assumed many successive shapes for the space of three hundred years and more. Nevertheless, from the beginning he was distin-

guished from the Jewish Messiah. For when Christianity passed the borders of Palestine and met the Pagan nations, it became necessary to alter its character to adapt it to another civilization and to new modes of thought, and this change in the character of the religion involved a corresponding change in the personality of its author, both in regard to his office and his nature. The view taken of the religion of course determines, and historically has determined, the view taken of its founder. The Hebrew Messiah — human in form, stern in feature, at once king and prophet after the ancient Judean stamp, local within the narrow limits of Syria, and national with the intense, exclusive nationality of Jewish patriotism, the descendant of David, the successor of Moses, the appointed vindicator of a promise made to Israel alone — could no more satisfy the intellectual Greeks and the cosmopolitan Romans, than the theocratic hope cherished by the devout in Jerusalem would content the speculative thinker at the school, or the worshipper at the shrine of Apollo. Christianity did go forth out of Israel; it did address the Gentiles; and with this important movement, which gave the religion of Jesus to the world, and thus preserved it from inevitable destruction, the name of Paul is identified. It is consequently in the writings of this great Apostle that we find the earliest form of the Gentile Christ, the germ of the doctrine that even up to this day has ruled theological Christendom.

Many things conspired to give Paul an original view of Christianity and of Christ. The circumstances of his conversion led to it. No arguments or miracles, no prophecies fulfilled, no proof from history, whether remote or recent, primarily convinced him that Christianity was true; the inward light of Christianity itself broke into his mind, and was its own evidence. The fleshly Christ he had never seen; he had never heard him speak; of his doctrine he knew little and thought less; he had been no disciple, nor the friend of a disciple; he derided the Christ of Judea; — but the risen Christ, unearthly, transfigured, was revealed to his consciousness. The spiritual Christ, freed from limitations of every kind, from limitations not of place and time only, but of thought, — the spiritual Christ, divested of



every thing sectional and Jewish, stood in glory before his spirit. This was the Christ and this the Christianity that Paul knew.

His course after his conversion could not fail to deepen the impression already made. His journey to Arabia, where he certainly would find no authentic records of Christ's history, nor meet any of his immediate followers, and his long stay at Damascus, also at a distance from the centre of Christian thought, afforded him leisure and opportunity for maturing his views in harmony with their first conception and without restraint. Not till the expiration of three years did he come to Jerusalem, to make the acquaintance of Peter and James, and then he staid but fourteen days. By that time, his theory of Christianity must have been, and in fact it was, fully developed in his mind. He was not to be judged by the other Apostles even then, and the next time he came to Jerusalem — fourteen years later — he presented himself as the open champion of a more liberal theory of Christianity, and the professed enemy of the Jewish exclusive view that prevailed among the original disciples of Jesus.

Thus, from the nature of the case, Paul's Christ was an ideal, not an historical person. The knowledge of him was obtained, so far as we can learn, from no written documents, from no oral information, but from inward conviction and solitary meditation. Paul has very few biographical notices of Jesus; he mentions no event of his life except the last supper, no miracle but the resurrection, and the resurrection he regards as important and interesting in a doctrinal view only. Not that he thinks lightly of it as an historical fact. On the contrary, he accepts it; he insists upon it with great urgency. To his faith, the resurrection of Jesus was an *a priori* necessity. His nature and his office demanded that he should rise. But Paul brings evidence too. He tells how Christ was seen by Cephas and the twelve; then by five hundred brethren at once; afterward by James and all the Apostles; and finally by himself. The Apostle seems to forget that, as he saw Jesus rather by way of vision than of ocular perception, his testimony could not be of much independent value. But his intense conviction, and his eagerness to make the point equally clear

to other minds, prevent his distinguishing carefully the validity of his proofs. By all means the resurrection must stand. "If Christ be not risen, then is my preaching vain, and your faith is also vain." But the value of the resurrection with Paul consists in its doctrinal significance, not in its historical probability.

The Christianity of Paul was a purely spiritual thing. The Christ of Paul was a purely spiritual being, whose life commenced with his death. He does not say that the Redeemer's earthly condition was unlike another man's, that he had not father and mother and human relations such as we all have; but with this earthly life, this corporeal life of years and relationships, this Jewish life, Paul had nothing to do. The Christ of his inward meditation and experience was a spiritual being.

The experiment of active missionary labor aided in confirming this view. When Paul stood up to address an assembly in Corinth or Ephesus, it would not do for him to preach "Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews." These were not all Hebrews who surrounded him; here was a new cast of mind to instruct; here were new wants to satisfy. If the religion of the Jews is to reach this mind, and to meet these wants, it must be enlarged; it must cease to be Jewish; its very idea must be changed; it must assume another function, and must work from a mightier principle. The change is made, and Paul preaches an original Gospel; a Gospel that knows neither Greek nor Jew, that appeals to no local prejudice, but speaks directly to the heart of all mankind; a Gospel of fresh, independent, spiritual truth, borrowed from no tradition, derived from no historical authority, not even from the authority of Christ, as it appears, and having only this in common with the doctrine of the disciples, that it connected itself with the person of the crucified and risen Messiah. As we have already said, this original conception of Christianity involves an original conception of Christ. Involves it; for with Paul the practical preceded the speculative in the order of development. He did not first construct his theory of Christ's nature, and then from this theory deduce his practical system of religion. But that system grew out of his practical solution of the wants of his age, and then produced within itself the type of Christ that belonged to

it. The function of Jesus goes before his nature; and in treating of the Christology of Paul we must first consider the office he assigned to the Redeemer. Of course we cannot pretend in this place to give any thing like an exposition, even the most meagre, of a complicated system. We shall be content with drawing the general outline of the view entertained by Paul. One word more by way of preface. The substance of this Pauline system is taken wholly from the four Epistles, — Galatians, Romans, and the two Corinthians, — these being the only writings of Paul whose genuineness has never been questioned, and which have, besides, a consistent and full doctrine of their own. This will appear further as we proceed.

We must begin with Christ's posture towards the Jewish law. In speaking of the law, Paul adapts his tone to the course of his argument. Sometimes he uses language of the strongest condemnation. The law is a law of sin and death. (Rom. viii. 2.) It is the strength of sin. (1 Corin. xv. 56.) It entails a curse. (Galat. iii. 13.) It is a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ (Galat. iii. 24); not an instructor or guide, for such was not the meaning of *παιδαγωγός* when this passage was written, but a keeper. The *παιδαγωγός* was a slave who waited upon children and watched them. The old covenant was a ministration of death, — a ministration of condemnation. (2 Corin. iii. 7, 9.) In other passages he calls the law "holy" and "spiritual." (Rom. vii. 12, 14.) It is the promise that Christ fulfilled. (Rom. ix. 8.) It is the beginning that Christ ended. (Rom. x. 4.) The law is the prophecy of Christ.

Christ imparts a new spirit of life which delivers from the law. (Galat. ii. 20; Rom. viii. 1, 2, 10.) He is a common principle of spiritual life to the whole body of believers. (1 Corin. xii.) It is in this connection that the resurrection of Jesus has its great significance. All men are subjected to the law of death; death not of body only, but of mind and soul, for the Jew believed that the body was essentially the element of personality, and that its destruction involved the destruction of all life and happiness. If, then, existence is to be any thing to him after the death of the body, he must first of all be assured that death has no power to annihilate his cor-

poreal being. The law of spiritual life in Christ must therefore break the power of death in its whole dominion. Not only must the soul be freed from sin by it, but the flesh must be freed from corruption. Physical death must be abolished by physical life. There can be no immortality, and therefore no blessedness, unless the body is raised. This explains why the resurrection of Jesus occupies so large a place in the Apostle's system, for upon the fact of the resurrection depended the certainty that this new spiritual energy had been imparted. If Christ rose not, then the power of life was not manifest in him, nor could he communicate it. But Christ had this power; he must have risen in consequence of having it; he did rise. His resurrection was at once evidence and effect of his possessing the spiritual life. The Apostle's reasoning is not altogether clear upon this point; but we cannot pause to explain it. The matter of moment is the dogmatical significance of the resurrection.

The efficacy of Christ centres in his death. Christ must die because the flesh is the seat of sin. (Galat. v. 17, 19; Rom. viii. 3; vii. 18, 23, 24.) Christ by his death kills sin in the flesh. (Rom. vi. 3, 6; viii. 3.) This one death of Christ is made available and sufficient for all men through faith. (Rom. v. 18, 19; 2 Corin. v. 14.) In explaining this point, Paul uses the most extraordinary language. "Christ," he says, "is made a curse for us." (Galat. iii. 13.) He that seeks justification by the works of the law falls under a curse, because he cannot adequately perform them. Christ takes upon himself the penalty which the law decrees to sin, and so bears the curse that others had drawn down. Christ is sacrificed for us. (1 Corin. v. 7; and especially see Rom. iii. 25.) This last passage implies that Jesus was offered to God as a bloody sacrifice to propitiate his justice. And yet the Apostle expressly states that it is we who are reconciled to God, not God who is reconciled to us. (Rom. v. 10; 2 Corin. v. 19.)

Christ suffered as a substitute for mankind. (Galat. i. 4; Rom. iv. 25; viii. 3; 1 Corin. xv. 3; 2 Corin. v. 14.) It is hard to resist the impression that a vicarious efficacy is attributed to the death of Christ in these passages. If he died for sin, that is, for a cause that lay in the very



nature of sin, then his death must have made satisfaction for sin. He must, therefore, have died *instead* of men. They die in him as their substitute. This is expressly said in 2 Corin. v. 14. All are dead, because one has died,—of course in their place. Further, Christ is made sin for us. (2 Corin. v. 21.) That is to say, Christ, being sinless himself, was regarded by God as a sinful object, a person in whom sin might be punished. Christ is likewise made for us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption. (1 Corin. i. 30.)

Men are saved by faith, which causes that the unjust be counted as just. (Rom. iv. 5.) God himself must look upon the unrighteous man as righteous. It is not goodness or practical piety alone that saves people, but faith, which makes what is not to be as if it were, and what is to be as if it were not.

Christ, being risen, sits at the right hand of God, and makes intercession for us. (Rom. viii. 34.) God is to judge the world through Christ, at whose judgment-seat we must all appear. (Rom. xi. 16; 2 Corin. v. 10.)

Such, in very bald outline, is Paul's doctrine of the Redeemer's function. There may be differences of opinion with regard to the meaning of particular passages, but the general view is not to be mistaken. If, now, this view be contrasted with the view held by the early Jewish Christians, or with the doctrine about the Messiah's office contained in the first three Gospels, an immense, a total difference is manifest. Indeed, the mission of the Hebrew Messiah has not a single point in common with the mission of the Pauline Christ. And it is an historical fact that the Ebionites, that is to say the primitive Christians, rejected all the writings of Paul.

The office of the Redeemer determines his nature. We now pass to this question, the chief one of our inquiry. What must Christ have been in order to fulfil his work? Paul seems to have indulged in very little independent speculation upon the nature of Christ. His aim was directly a practical one; and the time for such deliberate speculation had not arrived. The Apostle's delineation of the Saviour is considerably wanting in metaphysical accuracy. But how it appeared to his mind is tolerably clear.

First of all, Christ is a man. This position was demanded by the whole doctrine of Paul, and especially by that portion of it which dwells upon the communication of new spiritual life to mankind. Such communication implies essential concurrence and sympathy. As the representative of sinful men, likewise, he must himself have been a man. Paul affirms this point unequivocally in Galat. iv. 4; Rom. i. 3, v. 15; 1 Corin. xv. 21, 47; which passages assert plainly that Christ was truly a man of human pedigree and mortal parentage.

But Christ was not a mere man. He was not a man like Adam. Christ was the *sinless* man. (2 Corin. v. 21.) His flesh was only the *likeness* of sinful flesh (Rom. viii. 3), by which phrase the Apostle indicates the sinlessness of his human nature. The body of Adam and of his descendants was the seat of sin and death. But Christ was free from sin and death, and must, therefore, have had a body unlike other men: a body that looked like a sinful one, but was not. But this body of Christ, though sinless, was liable to death, without, however, destroying the spirit.

Christ was the spiritual man. (1 Corin. xv. 45, 47; ii. 8; 2 Corin. iii. 17.) Adam, the earthly, animal man, is put in opposition to Christ, the spiritual, heavenly man, the manifest ideal of humanity. When Paul calls Christ "Lord from Heaven," — "Lord of Glory," — "Spirit," — he probably means to express no more than this: that Christ is essentially spiritual, that he is all spirit; not, however, that he contains the whole Spirit of God. So the Apostle calls Christ "the Image of God," not as if he was God's form, but only intending to say that he was a mirror in which the Divine glory was reflected; a lens that collected the beams of God's radiance and poured them upon the world; in the face of Jesus the light of God's countenance is revealed to us. This idea supposes Christ to be wholly translucent and spiritual, a being of pure light; but it also supposes him not to be the whole of the Spirit. It is noteworthy, that, according to Paul, the spiritual man is wrapped up germlike in the natural man; but we cannot dwell upon this doctrine long enough to explain it, and shall therefore say nothing.

In this idea of Paul's, that Christ is essentially spirit-

ual, we trace a remote connection with the older Ebionite doctrine. The Jewish Christians held that the Messiah was a man to whom the Spirit was imparted. Paul holds that he is still a man, but that he contains the Spirit naturally in himself. It is not probable, however, that Paul had any regard to the ancient view when he framed his own.

Christ as the Spirit was, of course, preëxistent. This is clearly asserted in the four Epistles from which we have gathered the Apostle's doctrine. But the passages implying the preëxistence of Christ as a separate, independent agent are neither so numerous nor so conclusive as many suppose. Paul never calls Christ God. Such an idea could not have entered into his scheme, except as a glaring contradiction. It would be impossible to weave it into his system. Nay, it would be impossible for Paul, Hebrew and monotheist as he is, to think of Christ as God, or to think of God as becoming man. He could not so confound the human and the divine. A very different stamp of mind from his was required to do that. All critics of any name, all, at least, of any authority, consider the passage in Romans ix. 5 to be a doxology, an ascription of praise to the Supreme God. The highest title that Paul gives to Christ is *κύριος* (Lord). The expressions in 1 Corin. x. 4 are to be taken symbolically. The manna and the rill that gave life to the Israelites in the wilderness were types of the communion supper; and the rock which followed them, according to the rabbins, was a symbol of the Redeemer, from whom flowed streams of living water. But the rock was no more the conscious Christ himself than was the manna or the fountain. 2 Corin. viii. 9 seems to say more distinctly that Christ was a high, angelic being: but the language, exactly rendered, makes no contrast of the earthly with the heavenly condition of the Saviour, but only of his external humility with his inward greatness. "He was poor," — not, he *became* poor, — but "he *was* poor although he was rich." He lived in penury and abasement, that he might enrich us with his abundance. This sense answers better, also, the purpose of exhortation which the Apostle has in view, since, with this understanding, the Saviour's conduct was an example to his followers. The probable interpretation

of 1 Corin. xv. 47 has been already given. The context alone is sufficient to show that no angelic nature is ascribed to Christ.

So far, we have met with no difficulty. But there is another passage which is not so easily, we will not say disposed of, for we have not the smallest inclination to dispose of any, — but is not so easily explained. They who study Paul's language with a single eye to its meaning are in great doubt concerning it. The passage is 1 Corin. viii. 6. The titles, "God" applied to the Father, and "Lord" applied to Christ, intimate clearly the subordinate rank of the latter. The relation is expressly described as parallel to that existing between the Pagan gods and inferior powers. In regard to the meaning of the words "*τὰ πάντα*," "all things," we must compare 2 Corin. v. 17, 18, where nearly the same language is used. "All things are newly created. And all things are of God, who has reconciled us to himself by (*διὰ*) Jesus Christ." Here all things are done by God, and all things are done by Christ. The "*τὰ πάντα*" comprehends the whole work of redemption, which Paul repeatedly speaks of as wrought by God through Christ. Why may not the same significance be attached to the phrase in 1 Corin. viii. 6? This is one interpretation of the passage, a very possible one; one, too, that harmonizes perfectly with the Apostle's general system. It has no less an advocate than Dr. Baur, who certainly cannot be accused of any dogmatical preference. On the other hand, critics of almost equal eminence have maintained that in this passage Christ is made the instrumental cause of creation. The contrast in which God is set to the heathen idols, who are nothing, and have nothing, and can claim nothing, while he made and owns all creatures, makes it all but certain that the "*τὰ πάντα*" that come from him are the universe; and if "*τὰ πάντα*" means the universe in the first clause of the verse, it must mean the same in the last, and Christ becomes thus an agent in creating the worlds. It is impossible for us to decide between these two interpretations. The first is certainly more accordant with the general spirit and form of the Pauline theology; the second seems to be verbally the more correct. But even if we accept the last, the passage by no means asserts that Christ



possesses the Supreme Power, or is even invested with it. For the work of material creation was supposed to have been done by a being inferior to the Supreme. The language thus explained only affirms of Christ an active, operative preëxistence as an angelic creature. Perhaps Paul taught this doctrine. But if he did, the passage before us is the only one in these four Epistles that contains it. He could not, therefore, have built much upon it. His idea appears to have been, that Christ was essentially and substantially Spirit; Spirit in the same sense in which God is Spirit. As such he existed before his appearance in human form; not, however, as an archangel, or as any definite active creature. This Christ, who had always existed substantially, took on him the semblance of a sinful body, that he might redeem men. The Spirit that constitutes the inner personality of Jesus, in its sanctifying Messianic influence, is the "Spirit of Righteousness." The same Spirit, becoming a quick principle in mankind, moving and transforming, is the "Spirit that giveth life." There is diversity of operation; but it is the same Spirit that worketh all in all.

This idea of Christ's nature suggests to us many questions which Paul himself has not seen fit to answer, and which we, therefore, shall not so much as propound. It is easy, on the whole, to perceive what his doctrine was, and whence it arose, and what are its bearings. That it is very far in advance of the Christology in the first three Gospels, and cannot be dogmatically reconciled with it, is sufficiently obvious. Nevertheless, by a natural law of development, it might be its offspring. Paul's doctrine, as we have defined it, stands half-way between what went before and what followed. It occupies middle ground between the Hebrew conception of Messiah and the Logos of Alexandrian speculation.

As we pass from the four Epistles we have been considering to the others ascribed, though with less certainty of evidence, to Paul, we find ourselves in a very unfamiliar region of thought. The difference in the tone of speculation between the earlier and later Epistles, as they have been usually classified, has always been acknowledged, virtually or explicitly. It is a significant fact, that the proof-texts in favor of the subordination of

the Son have invariably been taken from the letters written in the first epoch, while the proof-texts in favor of the Son's coördination with the Father have been quoted from the writings belonging to the second epoch. And the explanation commonly offered and accepted is, that a change took place in the views of the Apostle himself; an explanation which, besides being unsupported by historical proof, is not adequate to the case. With this, however, we have nothing to do. The discrepancy has long been confessed. Let us now exhibit the character and extent of it.

The Epistle to the Philippians gives the next step in the development of doctrine respecting Christ's nature. In this Epistle is one remarkable passage, betraying an acquaintance with Gnostic ideas; chap. ii. verses 6, 7, 8. We shall present Dr. F. C. Baur's interpretation of this passage, as being the most sagacious, and at the same time the most natural. But first we will undertake a translation of the 6th verse: "Who, although he was in the form of God, thought that an equality with God was a thing he ought not rapaciously to grasp at," — "*non rapiendum sibi duxit.*" What, now, can be the meaning of such extraordinary language? If Christ was already God, what presumption could there be in his claiming to be God? If he was not God, what an unheard of, what a preposterous claim! Yet the writer says that he might, but did not. He might have advanced such a pretension, but under his circumstances would not think of it, for it would involve an "*actus rapiendi*," an act of violent rapacity. Such an idea would be perfectly incomprehensible to us, but for a well-known conception of the Gnostics, in their philosophy of *Æons*. An *Æon* was a conscious thought of God, a distinct idea of the Divine mind, considered as an active spiritual being. The *Pleroma* or Fulness was the entire consciousness of the Absolute Being, and of course comprehended in itself all the individual *Æons*. Each *Æon* of the *Pleroma* was one idea of God come to consciousness. God was one; the *Æons* were many. Each *Æon* was potentially and in substance divine, though finite. By nature it was drawn toward God; by limitation it was kept away from him. No *Æon* could overpass its condition, or comprehend more of

God than belonged to it as one part of the divine consciousness. One of the Æons, however, undertook to do this. It was the Gnostic *Σοφία*, who conceived the extravagant, passionate, unnatural desire to penetrate into the very interior of God's being, and to become one with the absolute. The act is described as a *τόλμη*; a bold, presumptuous, violent endeavor; for the Æon wished to appropriate to itself what did not belong to its nature. But the act was a spiritual one. The Æon would be "*ἴσα τῷ θεῷ*," not identical with the absolute, but in perfect harmony with it; it would spiritually apprehend and embrace the whole perfection of God. Had not the act been conceived as a purely intellectual or spiritual one, it never would have been conceived at all. The Æon has undertaken what is absolutely impossible, and of course fails. Having attempted by a hasty impulse to transgress the boundary of its spiritual nature, it is made aware of its limitation, and falls into emptiness (*κένωμα*).

The resemblance to this curious philosophism is so striking in the passage from Philipians, that we cannot resist the belief that the writer had it in his mind. Each peculiar feature appears, only modified enough to meet the author's purpose. There is the same opposition of being and not being. Christ is, and is not; has, and has not. On one hand, his equality with God is not realized; on the other hand, it potentially exists. He did not have it actually, for in that case how could he desire it? He might have had it, otherwise he could not have renounced it. He renounced it because the work of redemption demanded that he should not at first assume divine honors. This is the only particular in which the writer varies from the Gnostic conception. He gives a moral turn to the philosophical thought. The Æon tries and fails. Christ does not try, but renounces. The Æon falls. Christ humbles himself, by a free act of will. It is remarkable, as confirming this explanation, that the same word, *κένωσις*, which described the abyss of emptiness into which the Æon fell, is used in this passage to express Christ's state of voluntary humiliation.

One or two other phrases are equally significant of the class of speculations to which these verses belong. The word *μορφή* was familiar to the Gnostics, and bore a pe-

culiar sense. The *μορφή* of a being was that which constituted his individual character; it was expressive of his substance. Thus the Gnostics said of that fallen *Æon*, that when it was cast from the *Pleroma* it became *ἄμορφος*, "formless," that is to say, it had lost its spiritual personality; and the first thing Christ did, when he came from the *Pleroma* to its aid, was to bring it to itself, to restore its *μορφή*. "To be in the form of God," and "to be equal with God," are equivalent expressions, implying divine resemblance and harmony, — the being Godlike, — the being substantially divine. If all this be not of crystalline clearness, perhaps it is not our fault. We cannot go farther now into the abstruse metaphysics that distinguish between a being who comprehends the absolute greatness of the Father, who is "*ὁμοίος τε καὶ ἴσος τῷ προβαλλόντι*," "*ἀρχὴ καὶ μόρφωσις παντὸς τοῦ πληρώματος*," and the original Father himself.

There is, also, a trace of Gnostic Docetism in verse 7, where it is affirmed that Christ was made in the likeness of man, "*ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων*," — not in the "likeness of sinful body," as in Rom. viii. 3, but in the likeness of *body*. Paul says, Christ was only the semblance of a *sinful* man; this writer says, Christ was only the semblance of a man. Therefore he was no true man, but an apparition. In the 8th verse the word *σχῆμα*, rendered "fashion," conveys the same thought, denoting a transient, superficial, perishing cloak, or veil. (Conf. 1 Corin. vii. 31.) The 10th verse describes the dominion of Christ as extended over the three spheres of heaven, earth, and the under-world, which also reminds us of Gnostic speculations, and makes us more confident in our interpretation of the preceding passage. Dr. Baur thinks the Epistle to the Philippians must have been written at an early stage of Christian speculation, when foreign theories were freely and innocently accepted, with such modifications as suited the author's practical purpose. There was as yet no dreaded heresy; opinions were not as yet suspected; all the materials of thought were lying about, to be worked up by every thinker of the time. It was not surprising, therefore, that an author should adopt a Gnostic conception to explain to himself and to others what he thought of the nature of Christ.



Next to Philippians in the order of development stands the Epistle to the Hebrews. Here we find a further advance in the speculations concerning Christ. We are struck at once, on reading this book, with the prominence that is given to the nature of Christ over his function. Paul dwells chiefly upon the office of Jesus; this writer enlarges on his being. He is more speculative than Paul. And, moreover, while Paul contrasts Christianity and Judaism, plainly asserts the abrogation of the Mosaic Law, and meets Hebrew exclusiveness with Christian liberality, the author of this Epistle is anxious to reconcile the two, and to show how much of each is in the other.

His whole idea of the Messiah has the Hebrew coloring. Christ is the high-priest; a priest for ever having "the power of an endless life." (vii. 16, 21.) By the sacrifice of himself, he has entered at once into the holy of holies. (ix. 12, 14; iv. 14.) The mission of Christ is but vaguely expressed. He has purged our sins. (i. 3.) He has tasted death for every man; he has destroyed the Devil, who had the power of death. (ii. 9, 14.) He has made reconciliation for the sins of the people. (ii. 17.) He is the author of eternal salvation to all that obey him. (v. 9.) He lives for ever to make intercession for men. (vii. 25.) His blood purges men's conscience from dead works. (ix. 14.) He has offered himself up once to bear the sins of many. (ix. 26, 28; x. 10; and elsewhere.) He will come again to bring to salvation such as look for him. (ix. 28.)

The writer's conception of the nature of Christ wavers incessantly, and even betrays decided inconsistencies. Thus (i. 2), he is described as the agent by whom God made the worlds. He is the appointed heir of all things. (i. 3.) He is the brightness of God's glory, and the express image of his person, upholding all things by the word of his power. (i. 3.) He is the "first-begotten," and all the angels of God are bidden to worship him. (i. 6.) In verse 8th, the Old Testament is quoted as calling him God, while in the 9th verse he is only God's anointed. It is Christ who in the beginning laid the foundations of the earth, and the heavens are the work of his hands. They shall perish, but he shall endure the same, and his years are never to end. He is declared

imperishable in his own nature. (xiii. 8.) He sits at the right hand of the Majesty on high. In these passages Jesus is placed above all created beings; in fact, he is described as the Logos, though that title is not given him. But, notwithstanding all this elevation, his incarnation was a humiliating descent. (ii. 9; v. 8.) He was made lower than the angels that he might suffer, and higher because he had suffered. Christ was *appointed* to his office. (iii. 2; v. 5, 10.) By suffering he became competent to fulfil his work, (ii. 10, 17; v. 8, 9), and even obtained his glory through suffering. (i. 3, 9; ii. 9; vii. 26.) He was in all points tempted as men are, but without sin. (iv. 15.) Christ is strictly subordinated to God. (x. 31; xiii. 20; and elsewhere.) God is the Judge. (xii. 23.) There is a wide distance between Christ's heavenly and his earthly existence. On one side, he is a being of divine substance, — by nature higher than the angels, — born before the worlds and consciously pre-existent. On the other side, he is a man, suffering and tempted, charged by God with a divine mission, and reaping a reward for having accomplished it, dependent upon God, as a mortal creature, even for his being. He has human frailties, and is conscious of human wants.

Such curious incongruities betray the fluctuating movement of speculation at the time the Epistle to the Hebrews was written. There can be little doubt of the author's acquaintance with Philo's works, for the introduction of the letter is wholly in the style of the Alexandrian theology. But he is cautious of adopting Philo's opinions, as is evident from the remoteness of his allusion to the Logos. This word is introduced only once, and then without any reference to Christ. The timid attempt to apply the attributes of the Logos to Jesus seems to prove that such an association was novel, and of doubtful propriety. Had the author written but a little later, his language would probably have been much bolder, and his conception far more clear and harmonious.

The next type of doctrine concerning the nature of Christ is found in the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians. We place these two letters together, for they belong together. They are marked throughout by the same doctrinal peculiarities. Some critics decide that

Ephesians is only a dilution of Colossians. Be that as it may, they are closely related, and must be considered as containing substantially one form of doctrine. The person of Christ is the great point labored in these Epistles; it is the question of controversy. The theory of Christ's nature is maintained, according to Dr. Baur, against the Gnostic Ebionites. "These people said that Christ was an angel, created before all beings, exalted above the angels, the ruler of every created thing; but at the same time they placed the angels in a coördinate relation to Christ, ascribed to them a redeeming and mediating power, invoked them in that capacity, and regarded Christ but as one of the archangels." If such a view as this is deemed unworthy by the writer of these Epistles, his own view must be far in advance of any we have yet seen, and we find that it is.

In Coloss. i. 15, 16, 17, Christ is called "the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature." "By him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him and for him. He is before all things, and by him all things consist." In Ephesians i. 20 he is said to be "far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world but also in that which is to come." It is impossible to mistake the meaning of this language. Here are the regions of the heavenly world filled with angels rising above each other, rank upon rank, in regular gradation, — a conception which occurs nowhere in the genuine Pauline Epistles; and at the summit of all these, their creator and sustainer, is Christ. He is the absolute principle or cause of all existence; he is also the final cause of creation, both material and spiritual; Christ is all and in all. (Coloss. iii. 11.) It is only an extension of the same idea when Christ is called the Pleroma. (Coloss. i. 19; ii. 9.) For such is the meaning of the expressions, "it pleased God that in him should all fulness dwell," and "in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." To call Christ the Pleroma is equivalent to saying that he is the perfect expression of the conscious thought and feeling of the absolute God. This Pleroma, instead of being filled with a multitude of

Æons, is exhausted by Christ. At the same time, with curious inconsistency, the writer of Colossians intimates that by *the pleasure of God*, not by virtue of his own nature, Christ was the Pleroma. According to Ephesians i. 22, 23, the Church is the Pleroma of Christ. And in other passages (Ephes. iii. 19; iv. 13) the Christians are exhorted to grow into the knowledge and love of Christ, that they may be filled with his Pleroma, or fulness. Possibly these verses contain an allusion to another feature in the doctrine of the Gnostics, who imagined the Æons created males and females, and supposed them to form unions or marriages with each other. The Only-begotten is espoused to Truth, the Logos to Life, and so forth. Here, Christ is wedded to the Church. The parallelism is carried out even farther. Thus, in Ephes. v. 23-33, Christ is the head of the Church, and the husband is the head of the wife. Therefore, as the Church is subject to Christ, so the wife must be subject to the husband in every thing, and the husband is to love the wife even as Christ loved the Church, and gave himself for it. This union of Christ with his Church is the great mystery, described in chap. iii. verses 9, 10.

Again, Christ is the body of God (Coloss. ii. 9); and the Church is the body of Christ (Ephes. i. 23; iv. 12, 16). So, likewise, as before, the woman is the body of the man (Ephes. v. 28), and the husband is to nourish and cherish the wife, "his flesh," even as the Lord the Church. The same idea of the Pleroma recurs. Christ is the Pleroma in the most absolute sense. God imparts his own fulness to him. He imparts his fulness to the Church; and through the Church, as the fulness and body of Christ, the manifold wisdom of God is made known to the principalities and powers of heaven, and to the disciples on earth. (Ephes. iii. 9, 10, 11.) That the term "Pleroma" is to be taken in its Gnostic sense, can hardly admit of a doubt. If it occurred in one of the acknowledged Epistles of Paul, we might hesitate about giving it so technical a meaning. But in these productions, the whole scope of the speculation is Gnostic. They are full of Gnostic terminology. The words, "μυστήριον," "σοφία," "γνώσις," betray their origin. The emphasis laid upon "αἰών," "γενέαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων," "πρόθεσις τῶν αἰώνων," "αἰὼν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου," marks indu-



bitably the author's peculiarity of thought. In Ephesians ii. 2, the Devil, after the Gnostic form of speech, is called "ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ αἵρος"; and afterward (vi. 12) we find the equivalent phrase, "κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους." These expressions, and many others that might be mentioned, especially when taken in their connection, make it all but certain that the author carried Valentinian speculations into his conception of Christ. There is reason to think that both Epistles were written during the early prevalence of such speculations, while as yet they attracted no suspicion. It is chronologically impossible that any Gnostic system should have originated from these productions. There is no sign that any Gnostic system is combated in them. Only one other supposition remains, the one just given; namely, that the elements that composed the later systems were accepted, and appropriated to the writer's purpose.

Beside the controversial aim which the author or authors of these letters had in view, there was also a practical aim which we must notice. The office of Christ corresponds to his nature. The condition of the Church probably suggested in this instance, too, the theory of its founder. Little is said in Colossians or Ephesians about the function of Christ; but that little, though very obvious and simple, is significant. From many passages in both Epistles, but especially in that to the Ephesians, we infer the existence of conflicting parties in the Church. The duty of the time was therefore reconciliation, fusion, the healing of divisions. And in this consists the work of Christ. He is the harmonizer, emphatically the reconciler. God has gathered "together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and on earth." (Ephes. i. 10.) He is our peace; he has broken down the middle wall of partition. In himself he has made of twain one new man, that he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross. (ii. 14, 15, 16. See also Coloss. i. 20.) "Having made peace by the blood of the cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself, whether things in earth, or things in heaven." The atoning efficacy of Christ's death extends to the spiritual world. He has despoiled principalities and powers, making open show of them, and triumphing over them. (Coloss. ii. 15.) He hath delivered from the

power of darkness; in him we have redemption through his blood, and the forgiveness of our sins. (Coloss. i. 13, 14.) He is to appear and bring his followers into glory. (Coloss. iii. 4.) He has blotted out the handwriting of ordinances, nailing it to the cross. He sits at the right hand of God, and the life of Christians is hidden in him.

A very important passage as explaining the office of Christ is Ephes. iv. 8-11; a passage which has called forth a vast amount of criticism, but whose meaning really seems to lie upon the surface, and must have been overlooked because it was so near the eye. The writer plainly means to describe the universal sweep of Christ's influence, the ascending and descending agency of the Redeemer, reaching from highest height to lowest depth, embracing in its blessed and reconciling spirit the whole universe of living souls. Christ ascends and descends. He goes up far above all the heavens, he descends into the lowest abysses of the earth. But the descent is first, into the regions of the departed spirits. The captives he leads away are the souls he has delivered from bondage in Hades. The gifts he dispenses are the influences of his spirit, bestowed upon the Church. He dispenses them after his ascension, because as the absolute Pleroma he must fill all things, and bring the farthest extremes into harmony with each other. Thus we perceive the connection in which this doctrine of Christ's descent into hell stands to the other doctrines about his nature and mission. As the Pleroma, Christ must fill all things. But "all things" include not the heaven and earth only, but also the under-world, which it becomes necessary for the Redeemer to visit, before his work can be complete.

It will be unnecessary to make any comparison between the doctrine of these two Epistles and that which we have ascribed to Paul. The whole cast of thought is changed. The personality of Christ has become more distinct. He has assumed a far loftier eminence. The sphere of his influence, too, is enlarged beyond measure. At the same time, his mission is very ill-defined, and has lost the precision and point which it had in Paul's conception. We have passed into another region of thought. The practical, material sphere of Jewish speculation is behind us. We are entering into the clouds.

There is nothing that calls for notice in either of the remaining Epistles attributed to Paul. The Christology of Thessalonians is not marked. Neither is that of the Pastoral Letters, with the exception of the single celebrated verse, 1 Timothy iii. 16, which, being of exceedingly doubtful reading, cannot be used for a dogmatic purpose. We pass at once, therefore, to the writings of John, which exhibit the last stage of doctrine in the New Testament.

Before we state in order the theory of Christ's nature as contained in the fourth Gospel, we must be allowed a few words by way of preface; for this Gospel exhibits the influence of the Alexandrian philosophy on Christian thought. So much has been written of late about the Alexandrian philosophy, that it will be necessary to mention only one or two of its characteristics, as they bear upon the question before us.

In the Hebrew Scriptures, God is represented as having intimate communication with the earth; — first, by his own visible presence; then by ministering angels; and later still, by visions and dreams. The Jehovah of the ancient Israelites was a being half human, with mortal limitations and passions, as conceived by the sensuous mind. The heathen nations, the Greeks especially, being more purely intellectual, rejected this notion of the Deity. God, in their view, was invisible and incomprehensible, holy and pure. He could not come in contact with coarse, material things. These two classes of conflicting opinions met at Alexandria, and in that fiery furnace of the world's thought became fused together. A single man represents this union. It is Philo. Philo was both Jew and philosopher. As philosopher, he believed that God was invisible and incommunicable, to be apprehended only by the intellect. As Jew, he believed that God had been conversed with and seen by the human senses. To reconcile these two discordant opinions, recourse was had to the doctrine of intermediate spirits, or "powers," which were the active thoughts and faculties of God. These emanations were sometimes described as impersonal ideas, sometimes as conscious beings, according to the place and duty assigned them. In explaining the passages of the Old Testament in which Jehovah is spoken of as appearing to men, they

are introduced as agents distinct from God; at other times, they are regarded only as manifestations of God. Chief among these "powers," sometimes considered as including and absorbing them all, was the Logos, the Divine Reason; at once the sum of God's ideas, and the substance of his creative energy. This Logos Philo called a divine being, *θεός*, regarded now as a separate existence, and again as a personification of the Supreme Mind. The Old Testament in many places countenanced the adoption of such a theory, and furnished abundant occasions for using it. The strong personifications of wisdom in the Proverbs and in the Apocrypha seemed to bring Judaism within the sphere of speculative thought, and at the same time went far towards suggesting a solution of the passages in earlier books which described God as invested with a human form and bounded by human limitations. Thus Philo reconciled his Hebrew faith with his Pagan science. Moses and Plato could peacefully repose side by side. One might be a good Alexandrine philosopher, without being any the worse Jew; and one might be a good Jew, without being any the worse Alexandrine philosopher; and all through the mediation of the Logos, which was an unspoken idea, or an independent person, according to circumstances. The opinions of Greek and Jew touching the nature of God were hereby brought together. But there remained another point of difference in regard to the nature of Christ.

The Jewish Christians believed Christ to be the Jewish Messiah, foretold by the ancient prophets. They tried to establish their opinion by showing how the old predictions were fulfilled in him, without the least regard for the obvious truth and sense of Scripture. The Gospel of Matthew exhibits both the extent to which this mode of reasoning was carried, and the manner of conducting it.

The heathen nations would have nothing to do with this Hebrew Messiah. They had no respect for Jewish prophet, priest, or king. They had no respect for Jewish prejudices. If they accepted Christ, it must be on grounds wholly independent of his national character. There were two ways of bringing these two parties together. One, the extension of the Redeemer's office;



the other, the elevation of his person. Paul adopted the first of these methods; John adopted the second. On one hand, Paul concedes much to the Mosaic dispensation, finds the prophecy of Christ there, views it as preliminary to the new and grander faith, and treats the Old Testament as a book of symbols, prefiguring, by historical incident and divine institution, the spiritual facts of Christianity. On the other hand, he lays a broader basis for the mission of Jesus, a foundation common to all mankind; he demonstrates a need which the Jew feels as deeply as the Greek, and which the Greek may claim to have satisfied as well as the Jew. So that, differ as they might upon many points, both Gentile and Hebrew could profess the same faith, and on the same grounds.

John likewise connects Christianity with Judaism, conceding more, however, to the Gentiles. The brazen serpent typifies the Son of man. (iii. 14.) "Salvation is of the Jews." (iv. 22.) This whole fourth chapter is very significant. Moses is said to have written of Christ. (v. 46.) Father Abraham rejoiced to see Christ's day. (viii. 56.) Esaias saw his glory and spake of him. (xii. 41.) But again. The true Light lighteth *every man* that cometh into the world. (i. 9.) There are other sheep not of this (Jewish) fold. There must be one fold and one shepherd. (x. 16.) Greeks are mentioned as seeking Jesus. Christ, lifted up, will draw *all* men unto him. (xii. 20, 32.) The course of conduct ascribed to Pilate, and the favorable character given to the Roman governor, as contrasted with Jewish malignity, are also indications of the writer's disposition towards the Gentiles.

But the grand doctrine of John is the Logos theory, which he adopts from Philo, or at least from the speculations of the Alexandrine school. Which he adopts, we say; for there is no evidence, or shadow of evidence, in the whole Gospel, that this doctrine is opposed, or called in question. On the contrary, it is assumed without argument or apology, and with as little ceremony is applied to Christ. In the first thirteen verses of the opening chapter, the preëxistent Logos is described. He "was in the beginning with God." He was personally operative. "All things were made by him." He com-

municated with mankind. "In him was life, and the life was the light of men." He was in the world, but the world was a region of darkness and knew him not. His own chosen people knew him not. Nevertheless, there were those who knew him, and believed in him even then; on them he conferred the privilege of becoming sons of God, and they were said to be "born of God."

In process of time "the Logos was made flesh," or became incarnate, and dwelt on earth, a visible person. This incarnation adds nothing to the amount of being in Christ, or to his power of action, nor does it involve any change or modification in his nature. It only answers the end of making his being more manifest to the world. (i. 5, 10, 11, 14.) Let us examine this point a little closer. The Logos assumes a body as the historical Jesus. But this body makes no essential part of the person. It is nothing but a shell, an instrument, an organ. This is nowhere asserted, but it is many times implied. There are singular apparitions and hidings, which can be accounted for on no other supposition. The historical every now and then vanishes into the *docetic*. An instance of this occurs in chap. vii. In verse 10, it is said that Jesus went up to a feast "as it were in secret"; that is, after the manner of one who would not be recognized. The meaning is not that he went up privately, or alone, but that he went up unperceived. His brethren insisted upon his accompanying them openly. He refused, and yet he went up, not, however, like other people, but *incognito*. Thus we escape from the apparent equivocation in the words of Jesus. That such is the writer's meaning is apparent from the circumstance, that, when he appeared in Jerusalem, the people who had seen him repeatedly and familiarly did not know him, and treated him as a stranger. (vii. 15, 20.) Another account, of Christ's vanishing in the crowd, is related in chap. viii. 59. "Jesus made himself secret (withdrew from sight, became invisible), and thus passed out of the temple." This is the literal rendering of the words, and it is only by a forced construction that they can be interpreted otherwise. How could Jesus hide himself in a great crowd, and at the same time pass through the midst of them? To have passed

through in his own proper shape unnoticed, would have been impossible, even if the phraseology admitted of such an interpretation, for he was the engrossing object of interest. A fair weighing of the language leaves no doubt that it describes Jesus as making himself invisible. Similar occurrences are mentioned in x. 39 and xii. 36. They all imply that the body of Christ was only a cloak or form which he could put off and on, or change at will.

So much for the fleshly exterior of Christ. His interior, his mind, his whole intellectual being, was the Logos. Of a separate human soul, no hint is given. Every thing in the Gospel is against it. Not only is Jesus supposed to possess but a single nature; there is positive and abundant evidence that this nature was the Logos. He is endowed with superhuman power of insight and foresight. (i. 42, 47, 48; ii. 25.) There is no immaculate conception, or birth of any kind, because the writer's point of view precludes it. The Logos was already existing consciously, which makes a birth superfluous. Jesus passes through no period of childhood, has no experience of growth or development, as in the other Gospels. A close examination convinces us that the baptism is not alluded to in the fourth Gospel. It must have been put forward prominently if mentioned at all; but really no place is allowed for it. The only words that call it to mind are the words, "Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending," etc., the very insertion of which makes it more than likely that the writer consciously and carefully avoided the incident they were associated with. That incident, signifying that Christ was an inspired man, would have been inconsistent with his whole theory. For the same reason, the temptation is omitted. The very idea of a temptation, of a conflict with Satan, whereby Christ should be prepared for his Messianic office, is inadmissible if he is the Logos. Such a trial would not so much be needless as it would be inconceivable.

Once more, we find no Gethsemane in the fourth Gospel. The single passage that stands in place of the agony in the garden is xii. 27, and that is a passing exclamation, which seems to proceed half from the understanding and half from the heart. Why was this interesting and significant event passed by in silence, if

not that it did not belong, and could not belong, to the writer's theory of Christ's nature? We notice throughout his Gospel, that Jesus is all but entirely free from the infirmities which, as Jewish Messiah, he bore and felt. The Logos could not suffer.

Further, that Christ is the Logos accounts for the peculiar place assigned to miracles in this Gospel. They are called signs, and are wrought simply for the purpose of attracting notice to Jesus. They are no evidence of his truth; Jesus takes frequent occasion to rebuke those who viewed them in that light. He is his own evidence. He wishes people to believe without a sign; and he regards those who are converted by seeing his wonderful works as no better than the unconverted. This point is too plain to insist upon. References in support of it will occur to every one.

The Logos theory is perceptible in all the speeches that are put into the mouth of Jesus, as the language attributed to him in the fifth and sixth chapters abundantly proves. But most extraordinary, perhaps, is its influence upon the account of the resurrection. Jesus rises, — speaks to Mary, — ascends immediately to heaven, — returns, — and imparts the Holy Spirit to the disciples. His going and coming are mysterious; he enters the chamber through the closed door, and vanishes. Again he appears in the same manner, to give Thomas palpable proof of his being in the flesh; but this piece of condescension is only made an occasion for rebuking once more all who ask for such evidence, and blessing all who believe without seeing. Verses 19–22 of chap. xx. contain the historical fulfilment of such passages as vii. 39, xiv. 12, xvi. 7, 16, 28. The whole purpose of the resurrection was, according to Christ's repeated declaration, the gift of the Holy Spirit. But before this could be bestowed, he must ascend to the Father. "It is good for you," he tells the disciples, "that I should go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter, which is the Holy Spirit, cannot come to you; but if I go, I will send him to you." "A little while and ye shall not see me; again a little while, and ye shall see me, because I am going to my Father." This is precisely what happens. Jesus rises, — tells Mary not to detain him, for he is going to the Father, — and the very same evening the disciples receive the Spirit. Jesus, as he had announced, "goes



back where he was before"; that is, reassumes his heavenly glory as the Logos. The Gospel closes with the twentieth chapter. There are several interesting points of critical inquiry connected with this account of the resurrection; but want of space compels us to leave them unnoticed. We have only said what was necessary to confirm our position, that Christ is the Logos, and maintains the character of Logos throughout the Gospel. We must now turn to other points. In each preceding stage of opinion respecting Christ, that of Hebrews, and even the more advanced one of Colossians and Ephesians, the earthly condition of Jesus is described as a state of humiliation. He takes upon himself the form of a servant. He humbles himself. His death is a reproach and a shame. There is nothing of this in the fourth Gospel. The Incarnation, so far from being an eclipse of his glory, is the decisive manifestation of it. The death on the cross, even, is not only no dishonor, it is the crown of glory; it is positive exaltation.

Christ is the Logos, — clothed with Divine attributes, — the only-begotten Son, who came down from heaven, — "who is in heaven." He is called *θεός*, a divine being, but never *ὁ θεός*, the Supreme God. Neither is he homoousian with God. There are passages that seem to affirm this, but they are not quite equal to the weight of such a doctrine. Jesus says of himself, "I and my Father are one." (x. 30.) "The Father is in me and I in him." (x. 38.) But he uses the same language of his disciples. "At that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you." (xiv. 20.) "Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, even as we are one." (xvii. 11.) "And the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them, that they may be one, even as we are one." (xvii. 22.) Union, or unity, is not, therefore, identity of nature. The term may be used in a physical or metaphysical, a moral or a mystical sense, and with a narrower or broader range of significance. There is nothing to make us think that the communion between Christ and God is essentially different from the union between Christians and God. Besides, according to the repeated declaration of Jesus himself in many passages, the Son is decidedly subordinate to the Father.

"The Son can do nothing of himself." (v. 19.) "I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father, who hath sent me." (v. 30.) "My Father is greater than I." (xiv. 28.) Stronger still, Christ calls God his God. "I ascend to my Father and your Father; to my God, and your God." (xx. 17.) Jesus always speaks of himself as commissioned by the Father. He keeps the Father's commandments. (xv. 10.) The Son hath life in himself; but it is the Father who has given it to him. (v. 26.) All judgment belongs to the Son; but the Father has committed it to him. (v. 22.) The Son gives eternal life;—but only to as many as God allows; the power is from God. (xvii. 2.) The glory of Christ is conferred by the Father. (xvii. 22.) Jesus lives by the Father. (vi. 57.) Language of this kind might be quoted almost without limit, and from every part of the Gospel, showing the strict subordination of the Son. All that he possesses is derived.

It is time now that we should say something of the function of Christ according to the fourth Gospel. We have here no labored system of dogmatics. The whole sum of Christianity is centred in this one fact;—the manifestation of the Divine glory in the Only-begotten Son. This manifestation is of itself the coming of salvation; this manifestation is the gift of God's life to mankind. Christ overcomes the power of darkness and evil by revealing truth. He has come a light into the world. The efficacy of his death is described in very general terms. There is no doctrine of atonement, vicarious or sacrificial. Christ is said to "take away the sins of the world,"—to give his "flesh for the life of the world"; but such expressions are quite indefinite. "If I be lifted up from the earth, I will draw all men unto me." "Unless a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." This apparently means that there is no efficacy in Christ's death, but only in some influence in him, or proceeding from him, which operates after his death.

The doctrine of the second coming of Christ does not appear in this Gospel. The advent is purely a spiritual fact, not at all an historical incident. The Redeemer "comes" when his light enters the mind, when his love penetrates the heart. There is, consequently, no judg-

ment day. The judgment itself is a spiritual experience. "He that believeth not is condemned already; *because* he has not believed." "And this is the condemnation; that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light." Men are judged by the condition of their own being, not by any formal process.

The disciples have no spiritual life out of Christ. He is the vine, they are the branches. Without him they can do nothing. If they abide in him and let his word abide in them, they may ask what they will, and it shall be done unto them. (Chap. xv.)

Men are saved, not by common piety and goodness, but by faith in Christ as the Logos. (viii. 24, and elsewhere.) We find none of those noble, massive, clear principles of duty that are so abundant in the other Gospels. The very virtues are theological. The love of one's brother, which is made so prominent, seems to be a kind of mystical, sublimated thing, that is not exactly an affection, but rather a contemplation. It comprehends faith and works. It is a piece of speculation; a part of the scheme. Christians have eternal life from Christ. This is asserted again and again, with endless iteration. The believer enjoys a concurrent life with Christ and God. (xiv. 17, 20, 23.) Christ will have his followers pray in his name. (xiv. 13; xv. 23.) He makes intercession for them. Such are a few of the offices of Christ. They are all modifications of a single thought, and refer most distinctly to the conception already given of his nature.

A striking feature in the Christology of this Gospel is its doctrine of the Holy Spirit. What that doctrine is, it is exceedingly difficult to determine. It may be doubted even whether there is any perfectly consistent and finished doctrine on the subject. But at all events, the Spirit has something very like an individuality of its own. It is mentioned as a distinct person, having a special work. "He shall reprove the world of sin, and righteousness and judgment." He shall guide the disciples into all truth. He shall show things to come. He shall glorify Christ; and shall show unto men the things of Christ. He shall bring to the disciples' remembrance all that Christ has ever said unto them. He shall abide with them for ever. But then, again, the Spirit seems to

be identified with Christ; as when he says, "I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you." "If I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself." At times the Spirit almost loses its personality, and is only the "Spirit of truth, which the world cannot receive because it seeth him not." From some passages we should infer that the Spirit was detached from Christ at his death. "He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." From others it would appear that Christ as Logos had the Spirit infolded in himself, but not as Logos incarnate. Hence, before he can send the Comforter, he must return to the Father and resume his original glory. "If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you." "He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater than these shall he do, because I go to my Father." Going to the Father was equivalent to receiving his glory, the glory which he had with him before the world was.

But the suppositions respecting the Holy Spirit are not yet exhausted; for there are expressions that intimate pretty clearly, that it was sent by God, and that Christ's death was only the occasion of the Father's sending it into the world. "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter." "The Comforter whom the Father will send in my name." "The Spirit of truth which proceeded from the Father." Perhaps it is impossible to combine all these statements in one doctrine. The nearest approach to it has been made by Köstlin, who says that the Spirit belonged jointly to the Father and Son, but that it became a separate hypostasis only after the death and ascension of Christ, and was then subordinate both to Father and Son. His explanation certainly reconciles many of the apparently inconsistent expressions, if it does not reconcile them all. So much is plain; — the Spirit is represented as a conscious person; he has an appointed and endless work to perform; he enters upon it after Christ's return to the Father; he is brought down by Christ himself. Thus there are three heavenly personages associated in the work of redemption. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Of course these three are not triune in any sense. They do not constitute the Trinity of Christian



theology; scarcely even do they suggest that doctrine. But we see the infant in the man, if we do not see the man in the infant.

The truth seems to be, that in this fourth Gospel the person of Christ is placed very high, — very high indeed. If we compare the book with others commonly supposed to have been written at the same time, or even later, we are surprised to find how advanced a stage of doctrine it represents. The writings of the so-called Apostolical Fathers are far behind it. The letter ascribed to Barnabas assigns by no means so high a rank to Christ. The pseudo-Clementine homilies contain no hint of the Logos. The Ignatian Epistles are an exception. Christ in them is called *λόγος αἰδύος*, and frequently *θεός*, but the conception is unsteady, besides being not a little obscure. And some things are related of Christ, — for example, his descent from David and his birth from the Virgin, — which indicate an unfinished stage of thought, and which the Johannic view is consistent enough to omit wholly. It is even uncertain, a matter of much question with the most learned, whether Justin Martyr on the whole gives to Christ in his speculations a more exalted rank than is assigned him in this Gospel.\* We would speak with caution here, however, it is so extremely difficult to weigh the language of those ancient authors, supposing them to have attached any exact meaning to it themselves. Oftentimes, when they seem to assert a great deal, they really assert nothing uncommon, and in appearing to affirm nothing uncommon, they do affirm extraordinary things.

It remains now to say a single word respecting the first Epistle of John, and then this long article will be brought to a close. This Epistle bears the same general characteristics with the Gospel, but in several particulars it differs from it. One or two of these our subject obliges us to notice. It is remarkable that Christ is called *ἱλασμός*, or a sin-offering. "He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." "The blood of Jesus Christ cleanses

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\* On this whole matter, which we cannot pursue farther, we would refer to Baur's "Dreieinigkeit," Vol. I. pp. 92 - 102, 132 - 137, and 163 - 181. See also a dissertation by Hellwag, *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1848, 2d heft, pp. 252 - 263.

us from all sin." "He was manifested to take away our sins; and in him is no sin." The writer does not define the way in which Christ is the propitiation for our sins. But the ground of it is very plainly expressed. In iii. 8, 9, it is written: "He that committeth sin is of the Devil. For this cause the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the Devil. Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." All Christians are born of God. "Beloved, now are we the sons of God." See also ii. 13, etc. And yet the same writer says: "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us." How is this? How can people as Christians be absolutely free from sin, and at the same time sinners? If, as sons of God, they cannot sin, and if without ceasing to be sons of God they do sin, then are their sins remissible and remitted. Christ "is the propitiation not only for our sins, but for the sins of the whole world." "If any man sin, we have an advocate (*παράκλητον*) with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous." Christ therefore, not only has made propitiation for the past, but he makes intercession for the future. Through this intercession, our sins are remitted. But only on one condition can we share the benefit of the Saviour's intercession; namely, by loving our brother. "Whatsoever we ask, we receive, because we keep his commandments, and do those things that are pleasing in his sight." "And this is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son, Jesus Christ, and love one another." Here, at last, we have the chain of thought. Jesus Christ is the Advocate. But without brotherly love, there is no intercession; without intercession, there is no remission; without remission, there is no Sonship or communion with God; without Sonship, there is no eternal life. Thus we see how literally we must understand the word *ἱλαστήριον*. It implies a vicarious atonement, such as we do not find even dimly shadowed forth in the Gospel. It will be remarked, also, that the word *παράκλητος* is used in a sense altogether foreign to the Evangelist. The Paraclete is here an advocate, an intercessor, a mediator after the fashion of a Jewish high-priest. The cast of thought reminds us very

much of the Epistle to the Hebrews, very little of the fourth Gospel. We do not recognize the Comforter who takes Christ's place in the world, to abide with men for ever, in this Paraclete, who is Christ himself kneeling before the throne of God, and urging the petitions of his brethren, which reach him by virtue of a spiritual connection between him and them.

Several other points in this Epistle deserve attention; — the Antichrist; the sin unto death; the second advent. There is much more to be said, likewise, about the brotherly love which is the grand burden of the book. But these matters do not come within the range of our present inquiry, and we leave them.

Thus, imperfectly, and as in outline, we have sketched the results which the Tübingen school of criticism has arrived at respecting the Christ of the New Testament. We have traced the line of thought from the Gospel of the Hebrews to the Gospel of the Asiatics; from Matthew to John. Jesus, the carpenter's son, of Nazareth, has become the Divine Logos. A most surprising change. But it was brought about naturally, by the regular progress of speculation, and not by any sudden revulsion of mind. Many elements conspired to produce it. The Jewish thought in its grandest, purest form, clear, practical, and profoundly religious, found a mighty voice in Paul. It was preached in Athens and Ephesus; it was proclaimed in Rome; it was confronted with the polished philosophy of the West; and the image of Jesus was stamped upon the Gentile world. The Grecian thought, mingled with something of Oriental mysticism and of Hebrew piety at Alexandria, found utterance in Syria and Asia Minor. And in the blended notes, the name of Jesus was borne to the skies. The Christology of the Church resulted from a singular confluence of ideas. We shall not be surprised that speculation took the course it did, nor that it concerned itself so much with the person of Jesus, if we reflect that the controlling minds of the age were very few in number, and were half Jewish in their cast of thought. Paul, the least Jewish of all, had Hebrew nurture. Our surprise will be yet more diminished, when we consider the length of time which this process of development covered. Men did not pass from one extreme of opinion to another in a

day. It was long ere the name of Jesus was heard out of Judea. It was long before Paul made the sound of it familiar to Greeks and Romans. It was long, again, until the Christian thinkers became familiar with the philosophy that prevailed around them. The writings of the New Testament, instead of covering a space of about thirty years, as is commonly supposed, must, judging from contemporaneous thought, embrace the speculation of something like a century. We can shorten this period only by reading their doctrines differently, as many do, and will do for years to come. A hundred and fifty years after the death of Christ were necessary to transform him into the Logos. A hundred and fifty more sufficed to identify him with the Supreme God.

One idea has been present with us through our inquiry. It is this: the mission of Christ has preceded his person. His nature has followed his function. The exigencies of Christianity in various times and circumstances defined the position and the character of its founder, who was simply made adequate to the work he was to do. This is a suggestive thought. It reminds us that Christians have always found as much in Christ as their conscious need demanded. When the idea of sin prevailed in Christendom, when men's hopes were shrouded in gloom, and an awful chasm lay between a doomed race and its God, Christ was God, come to deliver mankind from the bondage of evil, and to wash the guilty conscience in his own blood. When human beings in their misery wished to feel that heaven had compassion on them, when they wanted hope and sympathy from one better than they, Christ was a man poor and suffering, full of grief, but full also of patience, and trust, and loving-kindness. To the philanthropist laboring to reform the evils of his age, and to right its wrongs, Christ is the heroic champion of truth and justice, who spake the clear word of God, and died in the great cause of humanity. The socialist, feeling the sore need of a newly organized society, loves to contemplate Christ as the sublime teacher of man's brotherhood with man, whose beautiful life proved and illustrated his doctrine of equality and beneficence. And so it has always been. So it is with each individual in his own heart. The moods of the soul cast their light and shade upon the figure of



Jesus. At times he appears to us divine. In moments of self-abasement, when our strength is weakness, our knowledge ignorance, our virtue corruption, and our faith despair, — in moments of wretched self-reproach, — we look up to him with a kind of awe: his purity is celestial; his goodness is angelic. We kneel before him, seeking hopefulness and assurance from his calm and peaceful holiness. In seasons of moral conflict with foes within and foes without, Christ is our example: his precepts bear up our courage; his life inspires our soul with unfailing confidence, and fills it with abounding joy. He is a comforter when we need consolation; a saintly devotee, when we are in the mood of prayer; an ascetic moralist, when the spirit wrestles fearfully with the flesh. He is the shadow of our heart. He is the form of our most earnest aspiration and our deepest prayer. He is the actual of our ideal. More than this he cannot be, were he all that Athanasius said he was. Less than this he cannot be, until our ideal is enlarged beyond to-day's imagination, in the glory of another life. O. B. F.

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ART. II. — WORKS OF MASSIMO D' AZEGLIO.\*

IT is seldom that the noble aims and benign sentiments of the genuine artist find development in life. His efficiency, however refined and graceful in itself, rarely can be traced to a practical issue; his dominion is usually confined to the vague realms of thought, and his name familiar only to those who explore the world of fancy and ideas. A rare and beautiful exception to this abstract career of the artist in literature is now visible in the case of Massimo d' Azeglio, the present secretary of state of Sardinia. It has become his fortunate destiny to realize, however imperfectly, in action, the dreams of his youth; to administer, to a certain extent at least, the

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\* 1. *Niccolò de' Lapi ovvero I Palleschi e I Piagnoni* di MASSIMO D' AZEGLIO. 2 vols. Parigi: Baudry. 1844.

2. *Ettore Fieramosca* di MASSIMO D' AZEGLIO. 1 vol. Parigi: Baudry.

3. *Ultimi Casi di Romagna* di MASSIMO D' AZEGLIO. Italia. 1846.

principles which previously found only written expression; and to be the agent of some of the political and social ameliorations which, at a less auspicious era, he could but suggest, illustrate, and prophesy. We can hardly imagine a more elevated satisfaction to a generous mind, than the privilege of thus making tangible what was once ideal, carrying into affairs the results of deliberate study, and giving social embodiment to long-cherished and patiently evolved truths. To feel the interest and realize the significance of such a career, we must compare the first work of the gifted novelist with the last discourse of the minister of foreign affairs; and trace his identity of opinion and sentiment, from the glowing patriotism of "Niccolò de' Lapi" and "Ettore Fieramosca" to the reforms which have rendered Sardinia the most free and progressive of the Italian states. It is through his genuine patriotism, indeed, that D' Azeglio is both a popular writer and a liberal statesman; his fictions are derived from the same inspiration as his public acts; he is a man of the people, and an efficient and honored citizen of Italy, by virtue of a love of country not less remarkable for intelligence than for sincerity. This is his great distinction. Neither to the circumstances of his birth, education, nor experience is he indebted for the independence, wisdom, and zeal of his national feeling, but altogether to the promptings of a noble heart and vigorous understanding. This eminent trait — his intelligent patriotism — both of his character and his genius is exhibited with beautiful consistency, first in an artistic, then in an argumentative, and finally in an administrative, manner. It pervades his life as well as his books, now finding utterance in the fervid words of an ancient Tuscan patriot, now in a direct and calm appeal to the reason of his contemporaries, and again in the salutary projects and unfaltering purpose of the ministerial reformer.

In the history of Sardinia, there are obvious facts and tendencies indicative of a liberal destiny; — vistas, as it were, of light athwart the gloom of despotic rule, and low and interrupted, yet audible, breathings of that spirit of liberty and national progress now evidently becoming more permanent and vital. The nucleus of the monarchy was Savoy, around which were grouped the frag-

ments of several states, — the old kingdom of Burgundy and remains of the Carlovingian and Frankish empire; but towards the end of the thirteenth century its individuality was fixed by the will of Count Asmodeus the Sixth; and by the peace of Utrecht it became a state of Europe. Although the power of the crown was unlimited, the government was administered by three ministers, and the succession confined to the male line; the assent of the estates was requisite for the imposition of new taxes, and, while the nobility formed a large class, it was one not exempt from taxation. The traveller who visits the church of La Superga at Turin, and muses over her buried kings, will recall traits of royal character not unworthy of the superb mausoleum. In the forty-three years of his reign, Charles Emmanuel the Third, both as a civic and military ruler, preserved a high character. In his disputes with the Pope, he successfully maintained the right of the state to make all ecclesiastical appointments; and the concordat was confirmed by Benedict the Fourteenth in 1742. The new code of 1770 was in advance of the times, and the country flourished under its provisions. But these incidental advantages were not sufficient to modify the natural influence of despotism upon the character of the people; and the acknowledged superiority of the Sardinians in vigor and breadth of nature is perhaps not less owing to local and social circumstances. Among these we are disposed to reckon the variety of elements that constitute the state; it combines interior plains with mountains and sea-coast, — the fertile levels of Asti and Alessandria, and the distant island of Sardinia; while Piedmont, as its name suggests, lies at the foot of the Pennine Alps, in which are the Great Saint Bernard on her north, and of the Gracian and Cottian Alps, including Mont Blanc and Mont Cenis, towards France and Savoy; and in the direction of the south are the Maritime Alps, separating it from Genoa and Nice.

Another propitious influence that distinguishes Piedmont is the existence of a large body of Protestants, whose contests with the Catholic power early broke up the monotony of prescriptive opinion, and tended to enlighten and invigorate the adjacent people. Milton's noble sonnet to the Waldenses of Piedmont is a familiar

memorial of their heroism and sufferings; protected by their mountain barriers, they defeated the army of the Pope, who lost not less than seven hundred men in the struggle. The actual effect, however, of so complete a despotism as that which originally invested the territory, has been described in a vivid and graphic manner by another poet. Alfieri, in his ingenuous autobiography, gives us a melancholy picture of an education under royal authority. His fame is one of the redeeming associations that beguile the traveller at Turin. In 1798, Charles Emmanuel the Fourth ceded his whole territory to the French, with the exception of the island of Sardinia; and four years subsequently, abdicated in favor of his brother, who, upon his return after the peace of Paris in 1815, restored the old constitution as far as practicable, readmitted the Jesuits, subscribed to the Holy Alliance, and established a rigorous censorship. The next year, harassed by the occupation of his kingdom by the Austrians, he also resigned in favor of his brother, Charles Felix. The Congress of Vienna, in 1822, provided for the evacuation of foreign troops; but before three years had elapsed, the usual enactments of arbitrary power crushed whatever germs of a liberal policy remained; by a royal edict, such of her inhabitants as were not possessed of at least four hundred dollars were forbidden to acquire the first elements of learning; and only those having a certain investment in the funds were allowed to enter the university. Translations of Goethe, Schiller, Wieland, and other authors, were prohibited. From time to time, formidable conspiracies against a government so tyrannical were discovered; the most important, that of 1821, was not without temporary success, since the regent, Charles Albert, was compelled to swear to the Spanish constitution. The spirit of the age and the lessons of experience were not altogether lost upon this prince, whose real character seems but recently to have been appreciated. We can desire no better evidence of his sincere love of country and benign projects, than the fact that, many years since, when comparative tranquillity prevailed in Europe, he was accustomed to hold long and confidential interviews with our representative at his court, for the purpose of eliciting information as to the means and method of gradually



ameliorating the institutions, not only of Sardinia, but of Italy. He long cherished the hope of giving her national unity, of combining from all her states an efficient army, and thus expelling the Austrians from the soil. This he believed to be the first step towards a constitutional government; popular education and military training he more or less encouraged in his own dominions, with this great ultimate object in view; and he certainly possessed the most efficient native troops, and the best-founded popularity, among the Italian princes. Since his death, impartial observers concur in deeming him far more unfortunate than treacherous; a reaction has justly taken place in the public estimation of his motives and career; and no candid inquirer can fail to recognize in him a brave ruler, who gave a decided impulse to liberal ideas, advanced the Italian cause, and became one of its involuntary martyrs.

“Yea, verily, Charles Albert has died well :  
And if he lived not all so, as one spoke,  
The sin passed softly with the passing-bell.  
For he was shriven, I think, in cannon-smoke,  
And, taking off his crown, made visible  
A hero's forehead. Shaking Austria's yoke,  
He shattered his own hand and heart. ‘So best,’  
His last words were, upon his lonely bed, —  
‘I do not end like popes and dukes at least, —  
‘Thank God for it.’ And now that he is dead,  
Admitting it is proved and manifest  
That he was worthy, with a discrowned head,  
To measure heights with patriots, let them stand  
Beside the man in his Oporto shroud,  
And each vouchsafe to take him by the hand,  
And kiss him on the cheek, and say aloud,  
‘Thou, too, hast suffered for our native land !  
My brother, thou art one of us. Be proud.’” \*

Into this amphibious country, — as Piedmont is quaintly called by the Italian tragic poet, — into this kingdom composed of the fragments of shattered dynasties, the scene of religious persecution, the heritage of a long line of brave and despotic kings, who adorned it with magnificent temples of religion by taxes wrung from an

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\* Mrs. Browning's “Casa Guidi Windows.”

ignorant people and extorted from a pampered nobility, — into this romantic land, crowned with Alpine summits and indented with emerald vales, — a region memorable for many a hard-fought field, and as the home of Rousseau, Alfieri, and Pellico, — Massimo d' Azeglio was born, on the 2d of October, 1798. His family was both ancient and noble; and Turin, his native city, a capital so near the confines of France as to be more exposed to the influx of Continental ideas than any other metropolis of the land. A more vigorous and intelligent race tread its streets, and a bolder peasantry dwell amid the mountains around, than belong to the sickly Campagna or the Lazaroni shores: the soldier has a manlier bearing, and the priest a franker aspect; while in society, not only the language, but the enlightenment, of the French prevails. At the *cafés* you find more foreign journals, in the *salons* a less antediluvian tone; the mellow atmosphere of the past that broods over the more southern districts is here scarcely perceptible, and a certain modern air and freshness of life immediately strike the traveller from that direction, as he enters the Sardinian capital. Here Azeglio's early education was strictly private; he then passed through the usual college tuition, entered the militia, and soon became an army officer. His natural tastes, however, were for art and politics. Accordingly, when sent minister to Rome, at a subsequent period, we find him assiduously cultivating the fine arts; and in a short time he became a skilful landscape painter. Here his latent and instinctive taste and capabilities genially unfolded; the impressive ruins, the treasures of the Vatican, and the companionship of artists, continually informed and inspired his mind, which rapidly and gracefully developed in an atmosphere so accordant with its original bias. We frequently have occasion to remark the affinity between the arts of design and certain departments of literature; and seldom can this relation be traced with more charming effect than in the writings of D' Azeglio. The clearness of design, the felicitous adaptation of the atmosphere to the outline, the grouping, scenic descriptions, and fidelity to those laws of historical perspective, which are so analogous to the same principles in painting, — all unfold themselves to the critical reader of his masterly narratives. We feel, as we read, that the best

preparation for that species of literary art is the discipline of the accomplished draughtsman; for an historical romance, in its true significance, is like an elaborate picture, subject to the same conditions of light and shade, truth to fact and nature, and harmonious conception. Azeglio delineates in language with a patient attention to details, a wise regulation of color, and a constant eye to unity of effect, which we at once refer to his studies in the Roman Academy and galleries, and his familiarity with the pencil and palette. It was not, however, until the maturity of his powers that his genius found scope in language; before he had acquired fame as a novelist, the intrinsic qualities of the man won him an exalted place in the estimation of a circle of friends, including the most illustrious names of Lombardy. On his removal to Milan, in 1830, his urbanity of spirit, fluent expression, manliness, and evident intellectual ability, had thus gained him numerous admirers; and Grossi and Manzoni were among his most intimate and attached companions. It is an interesting coincidence, that the destined successor of the first of Italian novelists became his son-in-law. D' Azeglio espoused the daughter of Manzoni; and somewhat of the domestic pathos which gives a melancholy charm to his principal work is doubtless the reflection of his own sad experience, for but a single year of conjugal happiness followed his marriage, his bride having died soon after giving birth to a daughter, who has since found a true mother in Luigia Bonnell, the present wife of D' Azeglio. The social character of Milan is rather literary than artistic; and it seems a natural inference, that, when the embryo statesman and clever landscape painter exchanged the Eternal City for the Lombard capital, and found himself in the centre of a distinguished group of patriotic men of letters, the chief of whom was bound to him by ties of family as well as sympathy of taste, he should catch the spirit of authorship, and seek to embody in that form the knowledge acquired in another field, and the aspirations that craved more emphatic utterance than could be expressed by the silent canvas. In 1833, therefore, appeared "*Ettore Fieramosca, or the Challenge of Barletta*," the best Italian historical romance since the "*Promessi Sposi*." Its easy and copious style, its truth of descrip-

tion and distinct characterization, the simplicity of its plot, and, above all, the thoroughly Italian nature of the argument, instantly established its popularity. The incident upon which the story is founded is as familiar to the historical reader as it is memorable in the annals of Italy;—that of a drawn battle between thirteen Italian and the same number of French knights, occasioned by the challenge of the former, for an imputation cast upon their national bravery by one of the latter. Sanctioned as was the encounter by the leaders of both armies, witnessed by a large concourse, including citizens and soldiers of France, Spain, and Italy,—the ferocious zeal of the combatants, the duration of the struggle, the patriotic as well as individual sense of honor involved, and, finally, the signal triumph of the Italian arms, render the scene one of intense interest. Azeglio availed himself, with singular tact and wisdom, of this episode in the early wars of his country, to revive that sentiment of national unity which so many years of dispersion and tyranny had obscured, but not extinguished, in the Italian heart. From the records of the past he thus evoked the spirit so requisite to consecrate the present. Ettore Fieramosca is the ideal of an Italian knight; his unfortunate, but nobly cherished love, his prowess, beauty, and fiery enthusiasm for his country, his chivalric accomplishments and entire self-devotion, beautiful and attractive as they are, become more impressive from the strict historical fidelity with which they are associated. The games, laws, costume, turns of thought and speech, and military and popular habits of the era, are scrupulously given. Among the characters introduced are Cesar Borgia and Vittoria Colonna, names that eloquently typify the two extremes of Italian character,—the integrity of which, in its villany and its virtue, is admirably preserved; the ecclesiastic, the inn-keeper, the man-at-arms, the gossiping citizen, and the prince, of that day, are portrayed to the life. Many of the local scenes described have the clearness of outline and the vividness of tint which make them permanent reminiscences to the contemplative reader, and have associated them in the minds of his countrymen with the hero of D'Azeglio's romance and the sentiment of national honor.

In 1841 appeared "*Niccolò de' Lapi*," the work which



established D' Azeglio's fame as a literary artist and a man of decided genius. The same patriotic instinct guided his pen as in his previous enterprise; but the design was more elaborate and finished, and the conception wrought out through more extensive research and a higher degree of feeling. The time chosen is that terrible epoch when Florence defended herself alone against the arms of Clement the Seventh and Charles the Fifth. In his account of the siege of 1529-30, he follows Varchi in regard to the prominent external facts; but into the partial and imperfect record of the historian he breathed the life of nature and tradition. For this purpose, the documents of the age were assiduously collated; the monuments, walls, and towers of Florence interrogated; the bastions of Saint Miniato, the palaces of the Medici and Puzzi, the Bargello, the piazza, ancient private dwellings, — the courts and staircases, the portraits and legends, — every tradition and memorial of the period, examined, to acquire the requisite scenic and local material which are wrought up with such authentic minuteness as to form a complete picture, and one which the observation of every visitor to the Tuscan capital at once and entirely recognizes. Nor has he bestowed less care upon the spirit and action of his romance. The people, as they once existed, in all their original efficiency and individual character, are reproduced, as they then lived, thought, suffered, and battled, after three hundred years of internal agitation and wars, proving themselves adequate to cope at once with both Emperor and Pope, and falling at last rather through treachery than conquest. The very atmosphere of those times seems to float around us as we read. The republic lives in its original vigor. We realize the events of history reanimated by the fire of poetic invention. Niccolò is the ideal of an Italian patriot, as Fieramosca is of a knight. There is a Lear-like solemnity in his vehement passion and religious self-control, a Marino Faliero dignity in his political ruin. The consistent earnestness of his character, the wisdom and majesty, the fierce indignation and holy resignation, the high counsels and serene martyrdom, of the venerable patriot, are at once exalted and touching. Depressed by existent degeneracy, Azeglio seems to have evoked this noble exemplar from the past to revive the dormant

hopes and elevate the national sentiment of his countrymen. Around this grand central figure he has grouped, with rare skill and marvellous effect, a number of historical personages and domestic characters, whose words, acts, and appearance give a distinct reality and dramatic effect to the whole conception. It is enough to mention Savonarola, Fenuccio, and Malatesta, — the reformer, the soldier, and the civic ruler, — all reproduced with accuracy, and their agency upon the spirit of the age and the course of events suggested with consummate tact. From the intensely exciting scenes enacted in the camp, around the walls of the besieged city, on the bastions, in the cabinet at Volterra, we are suddenly transported to the home of Lapi, and witness the domestic life of the age. The family portraits are exquisitely discriminated; Lisa and Laodonira are two of those finely contrasted and beautifully conceived female characters which, like Scott's Minna and Brenda, leave a Shakspearian identity of impression on the reader's mind. Lamberto is a fine type of the youth of Tuscany; Troilo, of Italian duplicity; and Bindo, of a younger son, beloved and brave; while the struggle between monastic and martial impulses, so characteristic of the epoch, is vividly depicted in Fanfulla. Scloaggia is, also, a representative, both in her wild career and her genuine penitence, of a species native to the soil. As Ruskin studied the architecture of Venice to fix dates and analyze combinations, D'Azeglio appears to have scrutinized the art, literature, and monuments of Florence, to gather the varied and legitimate elements which compose this work. He catches the voice of faction, and prolongs its echo; he paints the edifice until it stands visibly before the imagination or the memory; he reveals the mood of the patriot and the lover, so that we share its deep emotion; and leads us, as it were, through the streets of the besieged city, to the bedside of the tender maiden and the vigil of the anxious citizen, till the objects and spirit of the age and people become, through sympathy and observation, like conscious realities. Among the incidental merits of this work may also be reckoned its philosophic insight, exhibited not only in a fine study of the laws of character, but in the influence of political opinion upon domestic life, the conflict between patriotic and

personal sentiment, the local agency of institutions and the mutual relation of military and religious enthusiasm. Nor can we fail to perceive, throughout, the singular advantages enjoyed by the historical novelist in Italy, finding in her works of art, her temples, palaces, and libraries the most significant and, at the same time, authentic hints and glimpses of the life of the past. Many exquisite touches of picturesque or suggestive limning, such as mark the patient explorer and the observant artist, occur in "*Niccolò de' Lapi*." But if to these characteristics the work owes much of its immediate popularity, and not a little of its intrinsic interest, the standard literary value attached to it is, in no small degree, derived from the style. The language of D' Azeglio is terse, flowing, and appropriate. He writes in a calm, though fervent spirit; his tone is chastened and intense; and he uses words with a keen sense of their meaning and delicate adaptation. He has drawn a picture of the age, not only alive with moral sentiment and warmed by patriotic emotion, but so managed as to excite profound respect, as well as earnest sympathy, — to blend in harmonious contrast the office of historian and poet.

Indeed, D' Azeglio's great distinction is a certain moderation, judgment, and rational view of the prospects and needs of his country, rarely found in unison with so much zeal and genius. He early manifested this trait in habits of study and investigation, and has since, and always, been true to himself in this regard, as a man of action. It is on account of his excellent sense, logical power, and reverence for truth, that he has so eminently succeeded both as an artist and a statesman. No better proof of his superiority to the man of revolutionists can be desired, than the sentiments and arguments of his well-known political essay induced by the occurrences in Romagna in the autumn of 1845. He there states, without the least fanaticism or exaggeration, the real state of the case, and points out clearly and justly the reforms necessary in the Pontifical States. He rebukes all premature and ill-considered measures on the part of the oppressed people, as only calculated to postpone their enfranchisement and prejudice their cause; he wisely advocates gradual enlightenment, and eloquently describes the fatal consequences of rash and ignorant movements. He gives a

plain and authentic statement of facts to show the utter impolicy, as well as inhumanity, of secret prosecutions, resort to foreign arms, to base espionage, to a contraband system, censorship, and an inconsistent and unreliable code, and all the other flagrant evils of Papal sway; and while thus effectively reproaching the government, he is equally indignant and impartial in his condemnation of reckless agitators and precipitate heroes, who not only vainly sacrifice themselves, but bring into fatal disrepute the more judicious patriots. Azeglio comprehends the inevitable agency of public sentiment as a means of national redemption; he understands the Italian character, and points out the difference between animal and civic courage; he thinks fools as dangerous as knaves to the cause of freedom, shows the need of political education, pleads for a due regard to time, opportunity, and means in order to secure permanent advantage, and declares that the great lesson his countrymen have to learn is to avoid the two extremes of reckless despair and inert resignation, to improve, to hope, to prepare the way, and thus gain moral vigor, the world's respect, and God's favor; and, while he demonstrates the injustice of the Papal government, he would not have its victims imitate the madman, who in flying from an insect ran over a precipice, or the virgins in the parable, who took no oil with their lamps. He gives instances on the one hand of the decadence of the towns of Romagna in consequence of misrule, and, on the other, of the concessions of despotic governments to the consistent and enlightened appeal of their subjects. In his strict justice, he even praises Austria for her administration of law, compared with the Roman tyranny, that makes the judge and accuser one; and selects from his own state an example of treachery with which to contrast the self-devotion of those who fought at Barletta. This able pamphlet, entitled "*Ultimi Casi di Romagna*," is one of the most candid and thoughtful expositions of actual political evils, and the only available means of overcoming them, which a native writer has produced. No one can read it without sympathy for the oppressed, indignation against the government, and respect for the reasoning of Azeglio. It is not less intelligible than philosophic; and subsequent events have amply proved the



soundness of its arguments and the correctness of its inferences.

If, in view of the many abortive revolutions, the want of unity, the influence of Jesuitism, the interference of France and Austria, and all the other antagonistic conditions that environ the intelligent votaries of Italian independence and nationality, we seek a clew by which to thread the dark labyrinth of her misfortunes, and find a way into the light of freedom and progress, what rational plan or ground of hope suggests itself? Only, as it seems to us, the practical adoption in some section of the land of those political and social reforms which, once realized, will inevitably spread; the successful experiment in a limited sphere, which, by the force of example and moral laws, will gradually extend. Let the capacity for self-government, the advantages of liberal institutions, be demonstrated in one state, and they cannot fail to penetrate the whole nation. A few years since, Rome seemed the destined nucleus for such a change, and subsequently Tuscany; but the bigotry of ecclesiastical power in the one, and the grasp of Austrian power in the other, soon led to a fatal reaction. The course of events and the facts of to-day now indisputably designate Sardinia as the region whence the light is to emanate. Favored, as we have seen, by the character of her people, her local position, and the traits of her past history, the very disaster that checked her army has tended to concentrate and develop the spirit of the age and the elements of constitutional liberty within her borders. The loss of the battle of Novara and the abdication of Charles Albert, though apparently great misfortunes, have resulted in signal benefits. After securing peace from their adversaries chiefly by a pecuniary sacrifice, the king and citizens of Piedmont turned their energies towards internal reform with a wisdom and good faith which are rapidly yielding legitimate fruit. Public schools were instituted, the press made free, the Waldenses allowed to quit their valleys, build churches, and elect representatives, the privileges of the clergy abolished, and the two bishops who ventured to oppose the authority of her state tried, condemned, and banished, the Pope's interference repudiated, the right of suffrage instituted, railroads from Turin to Genoa and from Alessandria to Lago Maggiore

constructed, the electric telegraph introduced, liberal commercial treaties formed, docks built, and cheap postal laws enacted. In a word, the great evils that have so long weighed down the people of the Italian peninsula — unlimited monarchical power, aristocratic and clerical immunities derived from the Middle Ages, the censorship of the press, the espionage of the police, and intolerance of all but the Catholic religion — no longer exist in Sardinia. Regarding the constitution of Charles Albert as a sacred legacy, his son and people resolved to uphold and carry out its principles; and they have done so, with scarcely any violence or civil discord. Accordingly, an example is now before the Italians, and within their observation and sympathy, of a free, progressive, and enlightened government; and this one fact is pregnant with hope for the entire nation. Only fanatics and shallow adventurers behold the signs of promise without grateful emotion. The wise and true friends of Italy, at home and abroad, welcome the daily proofs of a new era for that unhappy land afforded by the prosperity and freedom now enjoyed in Piedmont.\* It would be manifestly unjust to ascribe all these propitious changes to the personal influence of D'Azeglio; but he deserves the credit of projecting and successfully advocating many of the most effective ameliorations, and of being the consistent and recognized expositor of the liberal policy of the state. The accession of Pius the Ninth was greeted by him with all the delight the hopeful dawn of his career naturally inspired among the Italian patriots. He published a letter full of applause and encouragement, and had a long and satisfactory interview with the new Pope; and when the bitter disappointment ensued, he carried out, in his official capacity, the sentiments he professed, and to which Pius was shamelessly recreant. Like Henry Martyn in England, he proposed the emancipation of the Jews in Piedmont, and his philanthropy is manifested in the establishment of public baths and fires for the poor. He took a bold and decided stand against the Pope, and originated the treaty with England. In his address to the Sardinian parliament, on the 12th of February of the

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\* We are gratified to perceive that one of the few Italian journals published in the United States, the *Eco d'Italia* of New York, fully records and ably sustains the noble example of the Sardinian government.

present year, he expresses the noblest sentiments and principles, in language of simple and earnest vigor;—repudiating what are called reasons of state, maintaining that the same morality is applicable to governments and individuals, that integrity has taken the place of astuteness, that good sense and good faith are all that the true statesman requires to guide him, and that the press and facility of intercourse which enable Turin, Moscow, and Edinburgh to feel simultaneously the force of public opinion, have emancipated rulers from the narrow resource of subtlety, and induced among all enlightened governments reliance on the absolute power of truth and fidelity. He attributes, in this masterly discourse, the peaceful achievement of so much permanent good in the state, to the virtue of the people, the prudence of the legislature, and the loyalty of the king.

How long Sardinia will be permitted to carry on within her own limits the progressive system that now so happily distinguishes her from the other Continental governments, is extremely doubtful. The asylum she gives to political refugees, the unpleasant truths her free press announces, and the operation of her free-trade principles, occasion the greatest annoyance to Austria, and excite the sympathetic desires of less favored states. It is scarcely to be hoped that interference of a more active kind than has yet taken place will be attempted. Meantime, however, it is but just to recognize the noble example she has set of enlightened self-government, and to award the highest praise to the generous and judicious statesman at the head of her policy. It will prove a remarkable coincidence if the enterprise recently broached in New York, of a line of steamers between that city and Genoa, is realized; thus uniting by frequent intercourse the commercial emporium of the New World with the birthplace of her discoverer, and opening a direct and permanent communication between the greatest republic of the earth and the one state of Italy which has proved herself sufficiently intelligent, moral, and heroic, to reform peacefully an oppressive heritage of political and social evils.

The efficacy of D'Azeglio's patriotic zeal is, as we have endeavored to show, derived from his knowledge and judgment. Years of exile have not caused him to

lose sight of the actual exigencies of the country. Having lived alternately at Turin, Florence, Genoa, Milan, Lucca, and Rome, and visited all parts of the peninsula, he is quite familiar with the condition of the people of the respective states, the special local evils of each administration, and the available resources of the nation. Thoroughly versed in the art, literature, and history of Italy, enjoying the intimacy and confidence of her leading spirits, and practically acquainted with diplomatic life, his views are not random speculations, but well-considered opinions, his aims distinct and progressive, and the spirit in which he works that of a philosopher. The beautiful emanations of his study and genius have awakened, far and wide, the pride and affection of his countrymen. In 1845 he commenced, in the "*Antologia Italiana*," a new romance, founded on the Lombard league, which the cessation of that journal and the claims of official life have obliged him to suspend. In 1848 he fought in Lombardy; and early in the succeeding year an unostentatious but select and cordial banquet was given him in Rome by his admirers and friends, to congratulate one another on the new hopes of Italian regeneration which events then justified. Through all the chances and changes of the times, the noble author and statesman has serenely maintained his faith and wisely dedicated his mind to his country, emphatically giving utterance to truth and reason, both to fanatical patriots and despotic rulers;—to the one demonstrating the inutility of spasmodic efforts, of guerillas, of inadequate resistance and inopportune action; and to the other calmly proving the absolute folly, as well as wickedness, of a total disregard of the spirit of the age and the claims of humanity. The present condition and prospects of his native state now justify his arguments and realize his dearest hopes; and it is her peculiar glory to have at the head of her administration, not only a liberal and wise statesman, but one of the most gifted and patriotic of her own sons.

H. T. T.



## ART. III. — EGYPT AS IT IS.\*

THE first two works whose titles we give below are as unlike as possible. One is like a dream, the other is like a Congressional report. One is without a fact, a date, a measurement, or any attempt at positive statement; the other is as exact as a multiplication-table, and as full of dates as an almanac. The one characterizes a class intended to be poetical without the forms of poetry, and is very successful in its way; the other belongs to an admirable series issued at intervals in Paris, presenting a thick volume of ably-written matter, and nearly a hundred engravings, for about the same price at which the "Nile Notes" would furnish its single day's recreation, giving entirely authentic intelligence, descriptions which often rise to eloquence, and condensed results of study and examination not elsewhere to be found. While one style of work is certain to become popular among us, it were well that the other should come after it and complete the impression it would make, extend the knowledge which the more fanciful writer has made interesting, and save us from utter superficiality and mistiness in our views of people and things.

The third title below is that of an elegant reprint, by the Harpers, of an English work which has been received with well-deserved favor. It is much the most attractive book upon Egypt which we have seen. It is most lavishly illustrated by plates, plans, and maps, and contains that fair mixture of historical details with descriptions of things as they are, which constitutes both the value and the charm of such a book. Samuel Sharpe, Esq., of London, has furnished for it an historical introduction, which in less than ten pages presents the reader with such a sketch from the well-established annals of comparatively modern times, as avoids the bewildering mazes of Egyptian annals. Mr. Bartlett is an admirable

\* 1. *Égypte Ancienne*. Par M. CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque Royale, etc. Paris: Firmin-Didot Frères, Editeurs. 1847.

2. *Nile Notes of a Howadji*. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 320.

3. *The Nile Boat: or Glimpses of the Land of Egypt*. By W. H. BARTLETT, Author of "Forty Days in the Desert." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. Royal 8vo. pp. 218.

painter in words, and we commend his volume highly to all who wish to have the most readable book on a land upon which an immense amount of trash has been forced upon the public.

Egypt, the land of the Pyramids and the Sphinxes, the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies, of the oldest civilizations and the largest history, of the richest architecture and the most prolific soil, of most strange customs and most wretched government, has been coming nearer to us of the West, year by year, and by constantly increasing steam-communication over the Atlantic, through Europe, and across the Mediterranean, is yet to lay its treasures still more open to our view. Meanwhile, the labors of Mr. Gliddon in this country, of Wilkinson in England, of Champollion in France, of Lepsius in Prussia, and some smaller works like "The Nile Boat" and the "Nile Notes," have quickened public curiosity, and created an intelligent interest in a land most deserving of study and most certain to repay further investigation. At the present moment, as many American travellers as French or German are floating upon the Nile; and, as it comes to be understood by our people how entirely unequalled are the monumental treasures of Egypt, how perfectly easy of access it is, how richly adorned by peculiar customs, dresses, trades, seasons, and scenes, ample of themselves to repay the costly voyage and wearisome land travel, multitudes will be found preferring this older, and yet in some sense newer land, to the hackneyed sights of Europe. The American traveller, as this distant spot comes close to hand and opens more and more of its varied wealth, will be found exchanging the familiar Rhine and Rhone for the Mississippi-like Nile, with its tombs of an unknown antiquity, its temples of unrivalled grandeur, its graceful obelisks and majestic statues, its sights that are always singular, and its manners that have no resemblance in any part of the world. It is in sympathy with and in help of this growing intercourse, that we propose to speak briefly of Egypt as it is, — to group together some of its most remarkable objects of interest under distinct heads, to exhibit the present position of the people, and to hint at the simple means which might convert the wretched present into a future more splendid than any past.

The most wonderful monuments of Egypt are without exception the TOMBS, especially the royal ones in the "Libyan suburb" of Thebes, the tall resting-places of some of her most ancient sovereigns, invested with the awe of antiquity even at the early period when Herodotus described the process of preparing the bodies for interment in them.

The pyramids are by no means the most interesting of the tombs. It is strange that these have been taken to be so many things besides tombs; that, simply because they were built to face the four points of the compass, contained some long subterranean passages, and have never been explored to their utmost depths, all kinds of singular notions have been associated with them, — purposes astronomical, sacerdotal, geographical, and tyrannical, — until all probability has been set aside, and conjecture has become ridiculous. The pyramids lie right across the river from Cairo, upon the edges of the great Libyan Desert, and are easily accessible, except when the land is laid under water by the periodical inundations. They are not all the same, nor all together, as many suppose. Some, as at Dashoor, are of brick; some are nearly obliterated, as at Sakkara. A few retain their outer and smooth coating; one of them, the largest, has an extensive square platform at the top. None of them appear as prominent near at hand as in the distance; the first sight from the river before reaching Cairo impressing one more than any other vision of travel, — more than the Bay of Naples, the minarets of Constantinople, the luscious gardens of Damascus, or the deathlike nakedness of the Dead Sea.

Miss Martineau, in her book on "The East," speaks of the difficulty of ascending the Cheops pyramid, the only one which travellers are accustomed to mount. The stairs are the several courses of stone, frequently three feet high, and sometimes four, but rather diminishing towards the summit. There are generally no half-way steps to divide the strain of one's limbs. To the weak or aged the effort is severe, and not at all agreeable to ladies. But two stout Arabs seize the stranger by either hand, and commonly another insists upon lending his services in pushing behind, so that the ascent of nearly four hundred feet may be made in a quarter of

an hour, and has not a particle of real danger about it. And then, there is an unrivalled view from the wide level which makes the present summit. Cairo is seen with its domes and minarets to the east; the Sakkara pyramids stretch far away to the south; the Nile, with its beautiful line of green, bears the eye along towards the rich and level Delta; and round all, that frowning desert, spreading out its yellow wing as if to sweep away man and his works with the very besom of destruction.

That this most visited pyramid was a royal tomb, none can doubt. Besides standing like all its fellows among vast ranges of mummy-pits, or surrounded by fragmentary memorials of the departed, a king's sarcophagus was found in the inner apartment, unmarked, however, by any inscriptions, a proof, as some think, of the antiquity which preceded any alphabet and any form of monumental inscription. The interior is chiefly remarkable for the perfect polish and exquisite jointure of its granite blocks. No modern art can give stone a more beautiful finish; none appears to approach this almost imperceptible union of stone with stone through long courses of masonry; none certainly pretends to the same immobility which has kept these mighty masses in the front rank of the battle with the desert sands and whirlwinds for these thousands of years; none can surpass the severe accuracy with which the air-passages are cut through the whole structure, some of them passing under the river, some to the head of the giant Sphinx. Three hundred and sixty-six thousand men are said to have been employed twenty years in erecting this royal mausoleum, which covers eight acres with its base, and reached formerly many feet higher than at present.

There are remains of sixty-nine pyramids, stretching along on the same side of the Nile for more than a score of miles; but they have proved such convenient quarries, for building purposes, that not more than half would now attract the eye of the passer-by, and the process of demolition goes on apace. The present "law and order" of Egypt is to quicken as much as possible the revolution of the great circle of nature. Buildings go up easily out of the nearest unoccupied pile of stones. Had the materials of the great pyramid been as small as the stones of Dashoor, it might, like some of those, be



standing up now in palace-walls at Cairo. The tombs at Sakkara undergo an equally curious transformation, sometimes into a government factory, sometimes into a pleasure-house for a pacha. The interesting temple at Erment has nearly gone, and two similar edifices at Sheikh Fadl, whose existence was not suspected until too late to investigate their remains, have wholly perished. And it is strange that no outcries should be made over what ruthless barbarism is doing with treasures which it has no means to appreciate. At one famous spot, the Tombs of Beni-Hassan, the scientific traveller, Lepsius, has done more mischief than a whole generation of Turkish architects. Great sheets of carved hieroglyphics have been torn off from the walls, and almost one entire tomb carried away bodily, in the vain thought that a new Egyptian Museum at Berlin will compensate for the spoliation of one of the richest objects of interest in the whole world.

From the more celebrated, but less instructive, neighborhood of Geezels and Memphis, the stranger hastens over some four hundred miles of river-navigation to the tombs at Thebes. These, too, form a vast "city of the dead"; "the dead reign there alone"; hardly a jackal can be seen wandering over the glittering sands and naked mountain-ranges which form "the Libyan suburb" of a city hardly second in renown to Babylon, the ancient throne of the priest as well as of the king of this most ancient land. These sepulchres are confined to the northwest quarter of the city; none of them are found in Karnak, the northeast suburb, the city of temples, nor in Luxor, the residence of the commonalty as it is to-day. This proverbially wise nation anticipated our New England custom of setting apart the most melancholy sand-hill in the parish for a place of burial, while, by excluding interments from the city walls, here, as at Cairo and Alexandria, they anticipated by a few thousand years our latest improvement.

The present condition of this mountain-range of tombs is evidently a transition one. More, many more, are to be discovered and opened. The best of the present ones has not been wholly explored; and, on the other hand, every traveller lends a hand to destroy what remains, to obliterate carvings and to conceal hieroglyphics. Neither

dragoman, traveller, nor native pays any regard, either to the fading traces of the oldest art, to the hallowed rest of the renowned dead, or to the disappointment which future visitors must suffer when the last touch of the priestly limner's hand is obliterated by the smoky torches of careless guides. Were the present government half what the last was, were not "dust to dust" written all over the land, it were worthy the intercession of some intelligent nation to save for future generations these wholly original monuments of the remotest art. For the temple at Karnak and the obelisk at Heliopolis, the work of Osirtesen the First, were a wonder to the patriarch Abraham, as they are to us. While the Hebrew forefathers were but nomads wandering with their tents, and before any other civilization within our knowledge had begun, Egypt was as settled as it is in our time; its fields had their land-marks, its cities their crude brick houses, bazars, and palaces. And before the era of Jewish glory under David, and the dark period for Troy of its ten years' siege, Thebes had already fallen, — her hundred gates, the towers, that is, of her massive temples, were partly in ruins; and it is not till we have followed the Theban kings for six centuries that we begin upon the fabulous age of Greece.

Two of the tombs in the "Libyan suburb" may be selected as especially interesting. All travellers who ascend the Nile visit them both. "Belzoni's" was discovered by the celebrated traveller whose name it bears. Its entrance was carefully sealed up, until his time, by the same masonry which hides at present so many other mausoleums in this valley of the shadow of death. The passage, as far as yet opened, is three hundred and twenty feet of gradual descent into the mountain; and all the way above and on either hand are chisellings and paintings on the solid stone, — the chiselling as sharp and the painting as fresh as if of yesterday, — interrupted only by niches for doors, and occasional pits whose mummy-tenants have been taken away. The patient genius of Champollion has deciphered these proverbially unintelligible hieroglyphics. It will no longer serve to call an obscure handwriting "dark as the hieroglyphics." They have come forth from the silence and obscurity of the grave; they have opened to us their long-buried

secrets; their crowded mythology, their succession of kings, their rites of embalming and burial, their simple agriculture, their domestic life, their wars and their joys, are revealed to us beyond a doubt. It is possible that the recent French conjecture may be verified, and that Egyptian chronology may be vastly abridged, by the discovery that several of the monarchs have been contemporaneous instead of successive; and, in the same way, the interminable list of the high-priesthood may be brought within more credible limits than eighteen thousand years, by dividing the sacerdotal administration among two or more, or shortening the period of each generation in office; but the substantial facts are confirmed from such various sources as to be unquestionable. In the Belzoni succession of avenues and chambers, the first inscriptions portray the funeral services of the departed monarchs; next is the representation of the judgment of the spiritual world, partly grotesque, though Egyptian gravity may have regarded it as only a becoming cheerfulness; then come various expressions of homage to the gods. By and by, in the grand hall, we find a connected picture of the different stages through which the soul must pass; last of all there meets us the procession for worship,—the priesthood bearing offerings and attended by music; and then the fallen stones and earth very properly close the way, and leave us to reflect with wonder how early and how far these arts of cutting stone and painting some coarse but imperishable colors had been cultivated, and to what length the power of the sovereign or the affection of the people had prosecuted a work which began with a monarch's reign and closed only with his death. The most careless observer cannot but be interested, if he passes by in contempt the frequent name of Osirei the Second. If the mysterious evil eye has no charm for the first time, the towing of boats up and down cataracts and over bridges, the sometimes childlike delineation of trees and flowers, and the various stages of the work, from the first chalking upon the naked wall to the most finished painted carving, must be acknowledged to be curious. But the most remarkable tomb in this valley, Beban el Molouk, is also the richest monument of ancient art in the world: though the work of two of the Rameses, it has generally borne the name

of "the Harpers," from two musicians engraved in its hall of music. It is not alone its vast extent of four hundred and thirty feet which made Champollion pronounce this the most magnificent; nor the eight lateral chambers which open upon its main avenue; nor the sarcophagus chamber with its zodiac. It is, that all Egyptian life passes before one here, all the poetry of its mythology, all its priestly teachings of the judgment after death. The first side-room upon entering is the kitchen department, with all culinary processes represented upon its walls; then come boats and boating, with elaborate decorations; then weapons and chariots of war, forming a perfect arsenal of Egyptian arms and ensigns; then the various instruments of music, with the two, perhaps blind, harpers, clothed in white dresses with a red stripe, playing each upon ten strings. And, wonderful to relate, very many of the same occupations are pursued to-day with the same instruments. That, after more than thirty centuries, the same patterns for the bellows and the plough, for pottery and for many articles of furniture, remain in use in the same land, is one of the most striking proofs of the stationary character of the Eastern mind. Nor are the curiosities of this vast repository easily exhausted. The strongest light from the pitch-pine cresset will not reveal any longer the zodiac upon the roof of the main apartment; but there is the serpent everywhere, sometimes double-headed, sometimes with a multitude of human heads, sometimes dragging his slow length along the whole apartment. Another room gives us sketches of four distinct nations; another, the entire process of embalming; and still another, the judgment upon the gluttonous sinner of being ferried back to the world in the shape of a hog by monkey boatmen! Some of the household furniture presents our latest and most elegant patterns, and the heaven-like ceiling of the principal passage cannot fail to be admired. What a melancholy contrast to this imperishable splendor are the best mausoleums of the present lords of the land! Near Cairo, in a forlorn-looking desert, stand the tombs of the Mameluke kings, erroneously named the Caliphs. They possess some of the best features of the Saracenic structures, are light, graceful, and gorgeous in ornament, each a miniature mosque, with the gayest possible colors and



richly gilt marbles; yet, a few years more, and hardly a vestige of them will be seen. While the Turk will not usually rob a tomb of modern date, as is continually done with the more ancient ones, he will never in any part of the world repair what is decayed; and the rent walls, leaning minarets, decayed screens, and cracked domes of these Mamelukes tell a story that will soon be told no more. The interiors consist generally of one room, partly carpeted with rich rugs for use in prayer, and presenting as the only peculiarities the Turkish tombstone, an oblong marble slab with a pillar at each end, that at the head bearing the turban, in case the deceased has not died by the bowstring. But besides their melancholy frailty of structure, nothing imposing, nothing that leaves a solemn awe upon the mind, is presented by even the most celebrated Sultan's tomb. There is the rounding and generally beautiful dome, and the lovely minaret, and all beside is that "dust to dust" which might be inscribed over as well as within the whole Ottoman Empire.

The temples are the next wonder of the land. They are not so marvellously superior to every thing else of the kind as the tombs, because the mind of the nation was not so inordinately directed to the religious education of the living as to the preservation of the departed. And yet, after seeing the most renowned temples of Greece and Rome, those of Egypt tower above all recollections of religious edifices, as the pyramids overtop the crowded capital at their feet.

The temple of Karnak far surpasses any other in the world by its vastness of extent, by the variety of architectural periods which it presents, by the richness of its work, the beauty of some of its materials, and the general picturesqueness of its ruins. Its position is directly across the river from the valley of tombs. The main entrance was from the river, through an avenue of sphinxes with the ram's head and lion's body, leading directly to a grand gateway or propylon, in front of which stood two granite statues of the Pharaoh Rameses the Second, the great temple-builder of Egypt. Passing through this propylon, one of whose towers still lifts up its full height above the adjoining edifice, suggesting the purposes of defence to which it might be applied, next comes an open court three hundred and twenty-nine feet by two hundred

and seventy-five, with a covered corridor on either side and a double line of columns down the centre. This area again is terminated by another propylon with a small vestibule introducing into the grand hall. This famous palace-saloon of the Egyptian divinities is one hundred and seventy feet by three hundred and twenty-nine, according to Wilkinson, was built by Osirei, the father of Rameses the Second, 1380 B. C., and its massive stone roof rested upon twelve columns, each twelve feet in diameter and sixty-six feet high between the pedestal and capital, besides one hundred and twenty-two less gigantic pillars, disposed on either side of the illustrious twelve. The Church of St. Martin's in the Fields is considered one of the largest English churches, and yet four such buildings would not occupy all this vast area, while this is only one of many similar halls reached by long ranges of sphinxes, through lofty gates, between massive towers, faced by the loftiest obelisks, — so vast in extent, so irregular in plan, the traveller gets no distinct idea of El-Karnak, except as one endless ruin. The inner extremity of the grand hall is closed by two other towers, beyond which are two obelisks, one standing, the other fallen and broken by human violence. Smaller propyla succeed to this court; and next come two still larger obelisks, the one of them now standing being ninety-two feet high, surrounded by figures in bass-relief bearing the bland features of Osiris. Two other and ruined propyla give entrance to a smaller area, richly ornamented also, succeeded by a vestibule through which one passes within the granite gateway that forms the *façade* of the court immediately before the sanctuary. This Holy of Holies is of red granite, divided into two apartments, which are surrounded by numerous chambers, varying in size from twenty-nine feet by sixteen to sixteen by eighteen. Behind these adyta, which in Egyptian temples are often twofold, as implying the worship of a male and a female deity, appear a few polygonal columns of very ancient date; and beyond, again, are two pedestals of red granite, which may have supported obelisks, but which appear more like the bases of statues. After this comes the building erected by Thothmess the Third, its outer wall destroyed on three sides; and, parallel to this, thirty-two square pillars, the

oldest remaining in Egypt, of the reign of Osirtasen the First, with twenty-two columns in the centre, disposed in two lines parallel to the back and front rows of pillars. Here, again, in this oldest part, are numbers of small apartments, partly underground, called the Chambers of the Kings. The total length of this portion of the temple, from the front gateway to the extremity of the wall of circuit, is eleven hundred and eighty feet. The various additions which were made at different periods to please the priesthood, gratify royal pride, display personal piety, or secure the favor of the deities and their earthly representatives, give such a vast extent and variety of styles and directions to the buildings, as to confuse and bewilder the common eye. The statement of Diodorus, that the circuit of the most ancient of the Theban temples measured thirteen stadia, or a mile and a half English, is within the truth, as his allowance for the height of the great hall falls short of the reality, and that itself is exceeded by the sublime appearance within. Well may Denon say, "The imagination, which rises above our porticos, sinks abashed at the foot of the hundred and thirty-four columns of the hypostyle hall of Karnak." But the general impression is of an endless labyrinth of broken and half-buried columns, of fallen obelisks and shattered statues, of prostrate walls, broken sphinxes, and decayed propyla, scattered about in wild ruin by some stronger destroyer than man. Lathyrus, it is said, vented a peculiar spite upon rebellious Thebes; Cambyses seemed determined, in his wholesale destruction, to leave nothing that could be put out of existence; the Greeks were even more cruel to this particular city than the Persians, for it never revived after their spoliation; but some of the overthrow was on too vast a scale to be wrought before the era of gunpowder by any thing short of an earthquake.

And then the rare beauty and elaborate finish of much of the work require to be seen in order to be felt. Hardly a stone without or within but attracts the eye by a human figure or a hieroglyph telling an intelligible tale of the past to the initiated few. Wilkinson, whom all English travellers repeat, frequently without acknowledgment, thus describes the sculptures outside of the great hall.

"To commence with the northern extremity: the upper compartment represents the king attacking a fortified town, situated

on a rock, which is surrounded by a wood, and lies in the immediate vicinity of the mountains, whither the flying enemy drive their herds on the approach of the Egyptian army. In the first compartment of the second line the king engages the enemy's infantry in the open field, wounds and slays their chief. The drawing in these figures is remarkably spirited, and cannot fail to be admired; nor are these groups the production of inferior artists, but of men whose talents would do credit to a later epoch than the fourteenth century before our era. In the second compartment, the Egyptian hero, having alighted from his car, fights hand-in-hand with the chiefs of the hostile army; one has already fallen beneath his spear, and, trampling on the prostrate foe, he seizes his companion, also destined to fall by his powerful hand. Returning in triumph, he leads before his car the fettered captives, whom he offers, with the spoil he has taken, to Amunre, the god of Thebes. This consists of vases, silver, gold, precious stones, and whatever the monarch has collected from the plunder of the conquered country. The lowest line commences with an encounter between the Egyptians and the chariots and infantry of the Rot-ñ-no. Their chief is wounded by the arrows of the Egyptian monarch, who closely pursues him, and disables one of his horses with a spear. He then attempts to quit his car, as his companion falls by his side covered with wounds. The rout of the hostile army is complete, and they fly in the utmost consternation. The victorious return of King Osirei is the next subject; and, alighting from his chariot, he enters the temple of Amunre to present his captives and booty to the protecting deity of Thebes. He then slays with a club the prisoners of the two conquered nations, in the presence of Amunre, the names of whose towns and districts are attached to other figures on the lower part of the wall.

“The order of the other historical subjects commences at the southeast angle. In the lower line the Egyptians attack the infantry of an Asiatic enemy in the open field; they subdue them and make many captives, and their march is directed through a series of districts, some of which are at peace with, others tributary to them. The inhabitants come out to meet them, bringing presents of vases and bags of gold, which, with every demonstration of respect, they lay before the monarch. He afterwards meets with opposition, and is obliged to attack a hostile army and a strongly fortified town, situated on a high rock, and surrounded by water, with the exception of that part which is rendered inaccessible by the steepness of the cliff on whose verge it is built. It seems to defy the Egyptian army, but the enemy are routed and sue for peace. Their arms are a spear and battle-axe, and they are clad in a coat of mail with a short and close dress. The name of the town, Kanana, and the early date of the first year



of the king's reign, leave little room to doubt that the defeat of the Canaanites is here designated. In the other compartments is represented the return of the Pharaoh to Thebes, leading in triumph the captives he has taken in the war, followed by his son and a royal scribe, with a body of Egyptian soldiers. The succession of countries and districts he passes through on his return is singularly but ingeniously detailed: a woody and well-watered country is indicated by trees and lakes, and the consequence of each town by the size of the fort that represents it; bearing a slight analogy to the simple style of description in Xenophon's retreat."\*

But we must not prolong our extracts, as our whole space would not be sufficient to describe all these elaborate delineations and the hieroglyphics conveying the connected history. We have given only a small portion of the outside sculptures of a single hall. The colossal statues lying around in fragments full of majesty, the obelisks,† here as appropriate and significant as they are unmeaning at Paris and Rome, the miles of sphinxes, so beautiful as mute guardians of mysteries which seem identified with themselves, even separate from a temple in which the "Crystal Palace" might almost be hid, must remain, as long as any trace of them endures, among the most interesting objects in the world. Architecture, the most imposing of arts, never so awed the soul before. Human history never turned her torch so far back into the cave of the past. Such gigantic remains, bearing so human an aspect, nowhere else so win us to revere the patriarchs of mankind. And yet, at regular intervals along the Nile, at Abusimbal, Philæ, Edfoo, Esneh, Denderah, and Abydos, are remains of nearly equal interest, — some of them almost as perfect as if finished yesterday, — none of them imitated from the others, and several coming more and more to the light of day by the excavations of the earth, with which they have been filled, for government works.

These temples, too, stand before us not merely as the memorials of ancient piety. Here were preserved and perpetuated all the literature, art, and science of their time. Here was a place for the historian, the physician, the architect, the astronomer, the linen-manufacturer,

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\* *Modern Egypt*, Vol. II. pp. 258 - 260.

† The largest is of four hundred tons' weight, and ninety feet high.

and the mummy-maker. Here, too, the stronghold of national defence was provided, in the lofty and massive tower, in whose walls at Thebes the brave Copt resisted for three years all the arms of Greece, then disappeared from history. And here Solon gained his wisdom and Greece her alphabet, here Plato studied thirteen years, and Moses spent the earlier portion of his days! Before these temples the roll of what we call history has been opened, — Babylonians and Jews, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, here passed as figures in the magic lantern, then vanished, — and still they remain.

Egyptian temples and tombs are framed as for a picture by Egypt itself. The Nile is inferior in interest to no river in the world. Besides the antiquities upon its banks, there is the frequent dome of the sheik's tomb, and the graceful minaret; the exuberant vegetation contesting possession of the water-edge with the encroaching sand; the shadoof and the sakkia continually busy, watering the grateful soil; the crocodile and ibis upon the waters; the date and doom palm upon the land; the buffalo and the camel working near every village; the Arab woman with her perpetual water-jar, and the Arab boatman with his funereal march and song, — all peculiar, instructive, fascinating, dream-like. And then the stream itself is magnificent as our own Mississippi, the sky perpetually brilliant, the sunset ever beautiful and strangely prolonged, the winter climate the finest in the world, and the vegetable growth luxuriant as the prairies, but more rapid and diversified. But for mere sight-seeing nothing can equal an Arab city, and no Oriental city, not even Constantinople or Damascus, can compare with Cairo. It is not merely that there are four hundred mosques of exquisite Saracenic architecture, older than those of Constantinople and more freely opened to the stranger, and eleven hundred peculiarly Oriental coffee-houses, — it is not that "the ship of the desert," nearly unknown at Constantinople, everywhere thrusts forward his lank neck and ungainly body, often in caravan-equipment, — it is not that the dark, narrow, twisting, mat-covered lanes swarm with every nation under heaven, the thin-limbed Bedouin and the muscular Moor, the indolent Turk and the wily Greek, the handsome Albanian and the barbarous Copt, the black-faced eunuch

and the filthy Jew, the effeminate Persian and the stirring Anglo-Indian officer, the dreamy Oxford student or the rapid Yankee traveller, jostling one another without concern; — the bazaars and every thing about them are a perpetual curiosity. Charles Lamb used to wander in his dreams through the cities of the East; — it is like dreaming awake to loiter to-day among the long line of little shops making the bazaar of Cairo, each trade in its separate quarter, with its Khan for the wholesale business and the lodging of strangers, and all, both the goods and the work, entirely exposed to the passer's gaze. Here sits the busy blacksmith at his anvil, there kneels a man before the dexterous barber, — here is the veiled female with her thin sheets of bread, or flattened cakes of manure for the fire-place, — here the joiner holding one end of his block with his toes, there the water-man squirting from the hogskin upon his shoulders enough of the Nile to lay the dust, — here the minaret-call to prayer in the name of Allah the Merciful, and there the loud crack of the buffalo-whip warning you that a carriage is soon to dash through the throng. And these are but the beginning of strange experiences; the funeral and the wedding, the court of justice and the Dervish-mosque, the crowd driven out to till the fields, and the other crowd driven in to be whipped for not paying taxes, the serpent-charmer and the street juggler, — all these form a changing kaleidoscope of the strangest hues and forms.

Away in some obscure place is the slave-mart; but in the universal oppression of the people, one eye often being put out and one finger cut off to escape military service, the nominally free peasant bound by the threatened lash to the field labor which yields nine tenths of its returns to the government, the common people living in general, hopeless (yet not suffering) destitution, slavery does not appear so dark by way of contrast. Though forbidden to Europeans, though the traffic has been formally abolished by the *Hatti sherif* of Abdul Medjid, no sight is more familiar than the full-laden slave-boat on the Nile. The victims are supplied by periodical slave-hunts, and dragged along in caravans to the river, where they are boated down in jolly groups to Cairo, Alexandria, Constantinople, &c. After reaching Assouan, their

sufferings are over, they begin to exult in the hope of rising by a master's favoritism to some place of power or ease. Color is no prejudice to their advancement: the jet-black servant seems often to be preferred: the domestic is not sold again, unless for some vice: there is an unlimited range for ambition, as the caprice of a sultan or pacha may make his prime-minister of his darkest slave; and the sultana herself has commonly been bought, either by her husband, or by him who sought favor at court in making the richest gift to the sovereign's haram, and securing his own advocate a hearing at the most favorable times. Probably slavery never was seen under more mitigating circumstances than in the Ottoman empire, where it is likely to last as long as any thing of the empire remains.

And how long is that empire to last? What is called "the Eastern question" becomes exceedingly interesting in relation to Egypt. This ancient garden of the world might recover its former population, wealth, and splendor; under any respectable Christian power it might be once more the envy or the admiration of mankind. Mehemet Ali showed what might be done by the mere will to improve, stripped of every advantage, embarrassed by personal ignorance and popular prejudices, and surrounded by evil advisers and corrupt agents. Trained up in an Ottoman camp, utterly uneducated, unacquainted, as many Mussulmans are, with the advanced civilization of Europe, resisted by the power of Europe and the prejudice of England, his fearless energy gave him the viceroyalty of Egypt, and came very near giving him the throne at Constantinople. And wherever his hand reached, it was felt as an enchanter's wand. Throughout Egypt and Syria he secured the perfect safety of the stranger; the isolated monk for the first time breathed freely, the European traveller could exult in the protection of his Frank dress. He built broad roads, erected thirty-five thousand water-machines to irrigate the deserted lands, established a first-rate arsenal and a navy, raised up a disciplined army, swept off the savage Mamelukes, opened several large manufactories of cotton and sugar along the Nile, carried the river directly by Alexandria to the Mediterranean, freely forgave the attempt upon his own life, manifested the utmost intrepidity,



breathed something of his progressive spirit into his people, and unveiled to the East a brilliant future, which his successor is shrouding over by his personal indolence, his waste of public funds, and his Mohammedan fanaticism. English writers were never weary of finding fault with the regenerator of Egypt. When he adopted the plans of the best French engineers, he seemed to be even more censured than when he rejected them. When his zeal set thirty thousand peasants at work to dam the Nile and overflow its barren borders, the outcries were vehement at his hurrying a work which, now that he is gone, will probably never be finished. The author of "The Nile Boat" even attacks him for not having made his men use European tools upon the canal, when the people are proverbial for preferring their own clumsy, slow, exhausting, antiquated ways of work. Now that stupid Abbas Pacha oppresses the people just as much that he may build crumbling palaces, carry on low sports with animals, and feast himself till he cannot walk, — now that the public works are running to ruin and depopulation advances, — the irreparable loss in the death of the greatest Oriental ruler since Saladin begins to be felt.

All Egypt wants at present, and what it does grievously want, is the encouragement of some civilized government to *develop its agricultural resources in its own way*. It does not need the immensely extensive system of canalization proposed by the French, nor the swarm of English tax-gatherers to erect steam-pumps along the river with the poor remains of an English taxation, as some writers urge; the people are already taxed to death, and no more foreign machinery should be brought in at present to be abandoned, like the existing cotton-factories; every costly innovation upon the labor of the country ought to be frowned upon. The people should be assisted to multiply their products after their own fashion, and of such kind as they can produce in greatest abundance and ease. The army and navy, now so useless, hateful, costly, and cruel, should be first of all reduced; the customs of Alexandria should be made to bear the principal burdens of finance; no more needless and perishable palaces should be permitted; instead of steam-engines, a better water-wheel with an endless chain of buckets, and a water-tight vessel instead

of the leaky willow water-basket, might readily be introduced. But the first, grand, vital measure must be to relieve the Fellah of that burden of taxation which is breaking him down, by securing him a decent share of the results of his labor, exempting him from the tyranny of petty officials, and never forcing him into modes of toil repulsive, unnatural, and unprofitable. An American, from his experience at home, can see how much, yet how little, the Egyptian peasant needs to have done for him. No European power is wholly able to teach what all need so much to learn, that the best government is that which interferes the least; and the happiest people, that which is left to develop itself as nature and Providence direct.

F. W. H.

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#### ART. IV.—THE CREED OF AN INDIVIDUAL.

THERE is, as is well known, a continual demand, among inquiring men of other denominations, for a statement of Unitarian belief. The various attempts which have been made to meet this demand have necessarily failed, because the Unitarian denomination is not based so much upon religious belief, as upon religious liberty. They unite, it is true, upon the doctrine of the sole deity of the Father; but this does not distinguish them from a large body of Friends, of Christians, and of Universalists. Their distinguishing feature is their individual freedom, and diversity of opinions. Hence it is impossible to frame a creed which shall satisfy the mass of the denomination, and the consequence is, that but few Unitarians have digested their doctrines into the form of a statement or creed.

NOW there are decided advantages to be gained by throwing our knowledge into a systematic form,—advantages to be gained by the systematizer himself, and also by others, even by those who disagree with him. It is fashionable, among those who would be spiritual, to speak contemptuously of systems and of doctrines. Nevertheless, man has an understanding as well as a heart, and it is impossible for any man to be without belief of

some sort in regard to the objects of his feelings and affections. Moreover, the belief or judgment of others is an assistance to us in forming our own, even when we differ entirely from the views presented. The innumerable false theories and imperfect theories which have been published, and are now daily published, on matters of exact science, have been, or will be, of great benefit in perfecting the true theories, and the promoters of science encourage in every practicable way the immediate publication of the results of every investigation. If this be desirable in other sciences, if in them each humbler word has its value, much more is it true in theology.

We have therefore sought to legitimate our religious faith by reasoning, and to form a summary of the points of our belief in a logically connected series. We publish it, not because we suppose that the majority of the denomination would agree with it, nor because we suppose that they would not agree, but because it is the creed of an individual, and may help other individuals in forming theirs. It is the fruit of our present knowledge and present thought. We will not bind ourselves to hold any part of it longer than it appears reasonable, much less would we bind any other man to hold it.

*We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and of earth.* We have arrived at this belief, if we rightly analyze our thoughts, through the consciousness of power and freedom. This consciousness gives us the idea of cause, and compels us to assume a cause for all things, a cause residing in a will. The assumption of a personal Creator, thus forced upon us by the consciousness of personality, is further confirmed by the character of the phenomena about us. Motion, on examination, is found to be governed by laws which exclude all but spiritual causes for motion. Symmetrical forms and harmonious intervals, on analysis, are found to be the result of thought. Organism implies the adaptation of means to ends. The relations of various parts of creation to each other, such as the solar system to our planet; the atmosphere, minerals, and metals, to organized beings; the animal to the vegetable kingdom; and the relation of the parts of each kingdom, and of each subdivision and individual to each other, — all indicate, in some instances demonstrate, the designing hand of

a Creator. Thus the very essence of our own mind leads, by irresistible induction, to a belief in God, which belief is confirmed by the testimony of all the phenomena in the universe. Atheism and Pantheism seem to us to be utterly absurd, at war with the plainest facts of consciousness, namely, our freedom and power, and with every sound induction from the facts of observation.

Nay, our philosophy leads us further than this, conducting us part of the way towards the second article of our creed. When the consciousness of freedom and power, introducing the idea of cause, introduces that of God, our reason immediately adds that God is, in himself, infinite, without any limitations or changes.

Creation is, therefore, a relative act; the purpose of creation has reference to the minds created. For creation must necessarily take place in time, and be subject to the limitations of space; it must be in conformity with design, and fulfil a purpose. And all these things are foreign to the idea of the Infinite and Absolute God; they pertain only to the conceptions of finite minds. God, considered in himself, being unchangeable, cannot act in time; being infinite, cannot act in space; having foreknowledge of all things, cannot form designs or frame purposes. That is, creation must be relative; it is not an inevitable part of God's being, but is a medium for communication between us and him. Thus our philosophy declares that this glorious frame of earth and sky was made as a revelation from God, to reveal to us, and to other children of the Heavenly Father, the glory and goodness of our Creator.

Other revelations from him are thus made probable on *a priori* grounds. Our relation to him becomes nearer and more endearing, when it is thus made manifest that he created us in love, and wishes to be known by us. He assumes a parental character in our eyes, and it is not unreasonable to expect him to speak to his children.

At this point we are met by the Christian Church, claiming to have received new and special messages from the Creator. We turn to the investigation of her claims, and whether we turn to Papist or Protestant Christian, we find the claim can be proved only by proving the authenticity of certain documents. Taking up, then, the evidence on this point, we find it conclusive.



The four Gospels, the book of Acts, the Epistles of several Apostles, are proved to be true histories and genuine letters, by an amount of evidence that is overwhelming, — evidence of a character that is decisive. And they contain the records of a revelation from God, direct intercourse with the Creator, through other means than that of simple creation.

But the Papist further claims, that there were important revelations intrusted to the keeping of the Church which were never written. Of this he brings no proof that is at all satisfactory to us; on the contrary, the Scriptures seem to deny such a doctrine. The Papist replies, that the Church can alone interpret Scripture. To which we answer, that we can prove the truth of Scripture only on the supposition that it is to be interpreted as ordinary human writings, by the usual laws of language. And if we prove its truth on our own interpretation, we must develop its doctrines in the same manner. It is absurd for the Papist to ask us, in studying the New Testament, to throw away the only foundation on which we can prove it is true and worthy of study. Nor do those Protestants seem to us reasonable, who, in studying the evidences of Christianity, use their own reason, but in studying its doctrines are guided by the voice of the Church. We must either yield to the authority of the Church, without asking for evidence, else we are to be guided by evidence, without resting on any human authority. The latter appears to us the more reasonable course.

Thus we are led to Protestant ground, and to the Unitarian denomination, because in that we think we find the fullest liberty, the most steadfast adherence to the right of private judgment. We class ourselves among them, because we find them holding up the motto, "Liberty, Holiness, Love," and practising on the motto which other Protestants hold up, "The Bible is the only religion of Protestants."

The second article of our creed is drawn from the New Testament, of whose truth we have already been convinced. We believe that Jesus was the Christ; that is, that *Jesus had authority to speak in God's name*. With the celebrated Locke, we believe that this is the fundamental doctrine of the Gospels and of the book of Acts;

and that a hearty conviction of its truth is sufficient to bring all the blessed fruits of Christianity into any man's soul.

The next inquiry, in logical order, is, On what subjects did he speak? From our study of the New Testament we should answer, He came to announce the terms, and arrange the means, of reconciliation between man and God. But this statement suggests collateral doctrines of great importance, and concerning which there has been much controversy in the Church. The word *reconciliation* implies a previous enmity; and a controversy has arisen whether the reconciliation was on the part of man only, or on the part of God also. We think that the evidence is all to show that God is ever loving, and needs no reconciliation. Indeed, in the original tongue of the New Testament, there is no ground on which to raise the question. The Greek language has two words for reconciliation, one signifying a mutual change, and the other the change of one party only. The latter is alone used in speaking of the reconciliation of men to God. Another controversy has turned upon the point, how much enmity there is in man toward God. That there is a sense in which men are enemies of God, is implied by much of the language of Scripture. But it does not follow that man hates God and hates all goodness, or that he is utterly corrupted in all his tastes and principles. If this did follow from the language of Scripture, we should doubt the validity of the reasoning by which we established the truth of Scripture. For the testimony of consciousness gives a direct denial to this doctrine. But conscience adds its emphatic assent to this charge of enmity against God, when we take that charge in its Scriptural meaning. The Apostles explain it in full, and in accordance with the words of Jesus. We have "made ourselves enemies," put ourselves in the attitude of enemies, "by our wicked works"; by breaking the law of God, and "not liking to retain God in our minds." Those who have not been reconciled to God are unwilling to think of him, or to submit to him. The whole duty of man is to serve God and keep his commandments. To him we owe all things, and he is our Supreme Ruler. When man, therefore, ceases to serve God, and begins to seek his own ends, he has re-

belled against God, by refusing to obey him, and by seeking to gain through his own strength that which he ought to seek from God.

The popular doctrine of total depravity may then be so guarded and explained as to be true. For if we define holiness as voluntary obedience to God, and define total depravity to be utter absence of holiness, then in this technical sense man may be called totally depraved. But such language appears to us altogether likely to deceive, except when it is the utterance of deep penitence, or of indignation at wickedness.

To return from this collateral doctrine of man's condition to the main inquiry, we next seek to know what were the terms of forgiveness which Jesus offered. We think that the four Gospels are very plain upon this point, and that *he offered free forgiveness on condition of repentance and faith*. The conditions are the simplest imaginable, repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. Repentance toward God signifies, we think, a humbling of the heart before him, confessing our ingratitude and rebellion, and promising in sincerity henceforth to obey him. It is a complete change of heart toward God, dropping the attitude of rebellion and enmity which our wicked works had given us, and taking that of obedient children. It is a change which, when truly made, is in general permanent. Repentance ushers in penitence, the acceptable state wherein every accidental transgression is instantly and earnestly disclaimed by the soul, keeping its heart loyal toward God. Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ signifies, we think, a conviction of his authority earnest enough to make us trust in his promises, and live by his teaching and example. And this is his promise, that God will forgive and receive into favor the repentant soul who trusts in him.

But did it require a special commission from the Most High God, to announce so simple a doctrine as this? Did the thunder of Sinai, the word of the prophets, the song of the angels, foretell a Messiah whose most important revelations should be so simple a thing as this? We answer, without hesitation, Yes. It is a simple, but grand doctrine; needed more than all others, yet not attainable by human reason; indeed, so unreasonable in the eye of our corrupted reason that it is rejected to this

very day, even by those who acknowledge the authority of Jesus. The paternal instincts of man might lead us to hope for forgiveness, but this hope would be repressed by the unchanging character of natural laws, and the unfaltering execution of the penalty for violating them. It is only in the authorized promise of Jesus made in the Father's name, that we have a sure and stable ground of hope.

The terms of forgiveness are then simply, that we should repent of sin, and trust in God's mercy as offered in Christ Jesus. The means of reconciliation employed by our Lord are somewhat more numerous. In the first place, he uses direct entreaty with us, urging his pleas upon us by reference to the fatherly kindness of God, as shown in his providence over us, and in the messages of his love in Christ's own mission. He still further urges these entreaties by threatenings of God's judgment upon those who will not repent. Secondly, he moves our hearts by the manifestations of his own love towards us, giving us that assurance of God's love, inasmuch as he is the highest image of God to be found among created beings. These manifestations of Jesus's love are to be found in all the words of his lips, and in all the events of his life, but most of all in its closing scenes. We therefore place our Lord's death as the third means of reconciliation. He slays the enmity of our hearts by his cross, giving us such a proof of his love, by dying for us while we were yet enemies, that no man can look upon it unmoved. In the crucifixion we have concentrated the strongest possible proof of God's love and of man's enmity. Men crucified God's dearest Son, the express image of his Father; and would doubtless crucify God himself, could he appear among them in human shape. Such is their enmity, and yet such is God's goodness that he seeks to save men, and sends to them his Son, so full of love and of desire to effect man's salvation that he willingly endures the torture of the cross for them.

And thereby was the enmity of man defeated. For the death on the cross led the way to a triumphant resurrection, which is the fourth means of our reconciliation, inasmuch as it is the central and most striking proof of Jesus's authority to treat with us in God's name; and is also the most convincing of all proofs that man is im-



mortal, a truth whose solemn import most frequently leads a man to reflect upon his condition and prospects, and makes him desirous of the salvation that is by Christ Jesus.

But the most effectual means of influencing men is in the Holy Ghost; that is, in a present spiritual influence exerted by Jesus upon the hearts of individuals, according to a power which God the Father gave to him. The doctrine of a Holy Spirit moving within the hearts of men is distinctly and emphatically a doctrine of the New Testament, and a doctrine of the Christian Church. The more popular form of the doctrine is that the Holy Spirit is a personal God; the more rationalistic view makes it an influence of the Supreme Being; but we think the Scriptural view is, that it is an influence which God commits to our Saviour to exert over us.

Thus, then, would we sum up our creed:— We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and of earth. We believe that Jesus had authority to speak in his name, and that he offered free forgiveness to men on condition of their repentance and faith. We believe that he seeks to reconcile men to God by the power of the written records of the New Testament, and by a present exercise of his power over individual hearts.

Among the collateral doctrines implied in this creed, or necessarily resulting from it, we cannot overlook that of the immortality of the soul. We think that all the natural arguments in favor of this truth are unsatisfactory. They create a presumption, not a faith. Jesus bids us rest on the infinite love of God for our hope of future life. With his assurance we dare thus rest, and believe our life shall be as eternal as the love of God. And from this doctrine of immortality a still more glorious hope arises. Inasmuch as there are no limits to our spiritual nature, and no limits to our life, we may rationally hope there are no limits to our growth, but that the soul redeemed by the ministry of Jesus shall ever increase in wisdom, love, and power for ever and for ever.

What the nature of our employment there shall be, what are the woes that shall fall upon the sinner's head, what the joys that shall fill the redeemed soul, we know not. These are questions suggested by our view of Christianity, but not solved. For their answer we "wait the great teacher, Death."

We have thus thrown together in a connected series our views of Christian doctrine, — restraining ourselves from all argument in their defence, — and giving them in hopes of aiding others to form their views, whether similar or dissimilar to ours. For we would rather help another form decided views, even if erroneous, than encourage him in being undecided and indifferent while holding the truth. We have great suspicions of that spirituality which calls doctrines mere husks, and neglects them to pursue the fruits of the spirit. There can be no faith, unless there is a belief on which to found it. There can be no action without a motive, and no motive without emotion, and no emotion without a perception, and no perception but can be stated in a proposition. So the use of the understanding is necessary to all spiritual life. Deny the value of doctrines, deny the need of satisfying the understanding, and you deny your own existence. No man can live without a belief, and if he reject what he calls doctrines, he embraces something, which perhaps is not worth calling by the name ; — but something he must hold. We do not wish to force our opinions upon others, but opinions they must of necessity hold, and we simply would maintain the necessity of care and labor in forming opinions. Doctrines, we repeat it, are not the worthless things which so-called spiritual men sometimes declare them ; for doctrines are but forms of stating truths, and all truths are of infinite value. There can be no truths unworthy of attention and of earnest thought. The folly of the elder philosophers was not in their eagerness upon trifling doctrines, but in their sophistry upon all subjects. To reason soundly and arrive at true conclusions upon any point is a worthy exercise for any mind, much more to reason well upon subjects that pertain to God and to eternity, to Christ and man's salvation.

We must each one have his creed, and each one perhaps will differ from all others. For we must, before we close, beg the reader, especially if he differ widely in his views, to remember that we have not been speaking in the name of a denomination or a party, but giving the creed of only an individual.

T. H.

## ART. V. — THE UNITED STATES COAST SURVEY.

THE Reports of the Coast Survey annually printed by order of government are probably little read, except by those immediately interested. The titles of the publications which have already appeared are too numerous to be mentioned here. The first sight of such volumes of statistics is not attractive; but if they are closely examined and compared together from year to year, they are seen to exhibit a plan of operations far-reaching as the country, a series of investigations almost as extensive as the field of science itself. The administration of Jefferson gave an impulse to the progress of science, the waves of which are still extending, and in this period the Coast Survey was suggested by Professor Patterson. It was warmly urged by Albert Gallatin, then Secretary of the Treasury, and on the passage of the act in 1807 authorizing the survey, letters were addressed by him to several persons of scientific reputation, asking suggestions for its plan. Those of Mr. Hassler, a native of Switzerland, who had acquired a reputation in his own country by the survey of the Canton of Berne, were considered the best, and in 1811 Mr. Hassler was sent to Europe to procure the necessary instruments for commencing the work. Owing to the war of 1812, and some other impediments, he did not return until 1816, and the first operations of the survey were scarcely begun, when the law authorizing the employment of other than navy and army officers was repealed, and Mr. Hassler's connection with the work ceased in consequence. For a period of about eleven years the Coast Survey seems to have been forgotten; it was then brought before Congress by the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Southard, in a report in which he declares his belief that a proper survey of the coast cannot be made except under the powers given by the law of 1807. In consequence of his efforts, in 1832 the act of 1807 was revised, and Mr. Hassler was reappointed superintendent of the work, a post which he continued to hold until his death. With peculiarities of character which entitle Mr. Hassler to the name of "an original," he is admitted by all to have been a man of strong intellect and great love of

science, and to have prosecuted the work with a zeal worthy of the gratitude of the country. Those who were in his employ always speak of him with great respect, some, notwithstanding the asperities of his character, with feelings of strong personal attachment. At his death, Dr. Bache, formerly President of Girard College, and widely known for his philosophical investigations, was chosen to fill the place, and the survey has since been under his direction. His fitness for the position is shown in the steady and rapid progress of the work, in the improvements introduced, and in the stimulus given by it to general scientific research.

The aim of the Coast Survey is to furnish all geographical, topographical, and hydrographical information touching the coast, necessary for commerce and defence. It is a trigonometrical survey, as it connects together different localities; it is geodetic, as it determines the position of these localities upon the surface of the earth. When the work came into Mr. Bache's hands, he divided the coast into sections, designing to carry it on so far as was possible with equal rapidity in each section. The first section extends from Passamaquoddy Bay to Point Judith, including the coasts of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island; the second extends from Point Judith to Cape Henlopen, including the coasts of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and part of Delaware; and so on, section meeting section, that each shall verify its bounding sections. One advantage of such a division is, that the same party can work at the north in the summer and at the south in the winter, changing its position only with the change in the season, but not suspending its labors. Each section receives its orders from the superintendent, prosecutes its work as if an independent survey, and at the close of the season reports its progress. The plan of each section is this. A reconnoissance is first instituted, to determine a suitable position for a base-line, and to select points for what is called the "primary triangulation." For the base-line a level space is sought, and the islands which lie so plentifully scattered along the coast are frequently the chosen places. When they are at some distance from land, perhaps in a broad bay and where there are no prominent points, they enable



the principal triangles extending from the base to run across the body of water, and connect with points on the coast.

For the triangulation, elevations near the coast, with interior mountains with which they can connect, are preferred. From point to point, weblike, the primary triangles are thrown, and within and around these are smaller triangles, attaching their vertices to headlands, lighthouses, and spires, until the plans of the Coast Survey, mapped out, present a reticulated mass, seemingly too mazy to thread. In New England, a base-line was measured near Taunton; the primary triangles extend from Mount Blue in Maine to Indian Hill on Martha's Vineyard; the smaller triangles connect the intermediate points which lie near each other, and reach to the islands around.

The accuracy of measurement which is indispensable to an extensive survey begins with the base. It is easily seen that a small error in a base of five or six miles in length, on which is raised a superstructure of triangles whose sides sometimes extend to sixty, seventy, and even a hundred miles, becomes very considerable in the course of calculation. In the trigonometrical survey of England and Wales in the last century, a base-line was measured upon Hounslow Heath, by General Roy, with deal rods; but it was found, notwithstanding all the care taken that the wood should be well-seasoned, that the changes in the length of the rod, from different degrees of moisture in the air, destroyed all confidence in the measurement. Glass rods, which would be susceptible only to changes of temperature, were next tried, and a base of five miles measured. On remeasuring this with a steel chain, the disagreement was found to be only two inches and three quarters. This was then considered very great accuracy, and the steel chain came into general use. The difficulty of ascertaining its changes of temperature induced General Colby, in the survey of Ireland, and Mr. Borden in the survey of Massachusetts, to design an apparatus, in which they endeavored, by the employment of different metals, to eliminate the effect of variation of temperature. The apparatus adopted by each consists of two bars, one of brass and one of iron, placed parallel about an inch apart, having at each end a tongue of iron

perpendicular to the direction of these bars. The tongue moves upon joints, and a change in the length of the bars affects the inclination, and consequently the distance, between the tongues. Mr. Bache substitutes for the tongue a lever resting against the end of the lower bar; the point of resistance is at the end of the upper bar; the lever continues above this, and is met by a steel rod projecting from the next measure, which acts upon a lever of contact, bearing a delicate level. The contact between the two measures is that between a blunt knife-edge and a plane of agate. In the compensation of the bars, Mr. Bache introduced a principle not before recognized. "A bar of brass and a bar of iron will not heat equally in equal times, when exposed to the same temperatures, owing to the different conducting power of the two metals, their different specific heats, and the different power of their surfaces to absorb heat." When the temperature is changing, therefore, a system like that of General Colby and Mr. Borden ceases to be compensating. Mr. Bache adapted the sections of the bars as nearly as possible in proper ratio to each other, and then gave such a coating to the surface, that the combination is exactly compensating under changes of temperature. The bars are exposed to a high temperature, to give them a set, and sudden changes are then guarded against by giving the whole a covering of imperfectly conducting material. The bars are compared before and after measurement with a standard, by placing the standard bar and the measuring bar alternately between two granite pillars sunk in the ground, at a distance apart equal to the length of the bar, and protected from vibration. By using Saxton's reflecting pyrometer, very slight changes in the length of the bar are indicated.

The nicety of measurement is shown in the fact, that a remeasurement of a portion of one of the bases for verification indicated an error, in the whole extent of seven miles, of less than half an inch.

The measurement having been completed, the extremities of the line must be permanently marked; they will thus furnish starting-points for future surveys. It is a nice point to place the monuments marking the ends precisely over them. In the base measured in the fall of 1849, on Edisto Island, a stone several feet long was first

buried in the earth, in which was a copper bolt which by a transit instrument was placed immediately below the end of the last measure. A frustum of a cone of earthenware was placed around this, above it a wooden platform not touching the cone or stone, and upon this two stones several feet square, in which copper bolts were inserted, upon which the exact termination was again marked. Above these and above the surface rises the monument, marked with the name of the work, the superintendent, the date, and the number of the base. Besides these monuments at the extremities, at the end of each mile a stone is placed in the earth, a copper bolt inserted, and its termination marked upon the bolt.

From the base-line, the triangles, gradually increasing, extend to the primary triangles, the work being carried on at the same time in the large triangles and in the smaller ones depending upon them. The vertices of the primary triangles having been selected, some one of them is chosen as an observing station, and heliotropes are placed at the others. The heliotrope is an instrument designed by Gauss. It consists of a small telescope to which a mirror is attached, by means of which the reflected sunlight is projected in the direction from which the measurement is to be made. It is the duty of the heliotroper to keep this reflection constantly thrown in the proper direction for several hours every day. As in our part of the country he is placed upon elevations sometimes inaccessible except by clinging from tree to tree in his ascent, and far from human habitation, he must make society of the animals of the forest and the birds of the air, and become familiar, however unwillingly, with the various meteorological phenomena of his mountain home.

The angles between these heliotropes, gleaming like day-stars, are measured by means of a theodolite, the superiority of which over other angle-measuring instruments consists in its ability to measure angles in a horizontal plane, though the points are at different elevations. The angles between these stations determine their relative position, but to locate them upon the earth, azimuths, or the angles which the sides of the triangles make with the meridian, must be measured. This is done by directing the theodolite to one of the heliotropes,

and then to Polaris, or some other circumpolar star, at its greatest elongation, or greatest distance from culmination.

The mean of these two angles gives the azimuth of the station observed upon. The old method of determining azimuths was by observing the sun when in the direction of the station; this required a knowledge of the latitude and of the correct time; that by the pole-star at its elongation is independent of the latitude, and, as the motion of the star is slow, the exact time is not a matter of importance. The time being known, the star may be followed in every part of its course, if, as in the Coast Survey, the instrument used is sufficiently powerful. The telescope of the great theodolite of the Coast Survey is of four feet focal length, and Mr. Bache has introduced the method of observing circumpolar stars at equal distances from culmination. It is found that the observations are so much affected by meteorological phenomena, that they must be made at different times of day, and extend through several days. The elongation position of the star is referred to a wand by day and a lamp by night, and these are connected with the stations around, so as to avoid the local lateral refraction in a particular line. The measurement of backward azimuths is an improvement introduced by the present superintendent. When the azimuth of a certain point has been observed from a known station, the point is taken as the station, and the station as the point, and the angle again measured. It is found that these measurements do not agree, even when the same star is used, and all the corrections for known sources of error applied. As the theodolite is supposed to be placed vertically over the station, a deflection from verticality would lead to such a result; it is supposed that the crust of the earth is not homogeneous in its structure, though the topography indicates no such want of uniformity, and it would be unknown but for the divining rod of the plumb-line. This error is called the "station error"; it has, since its detection by the Coast Survey of the United States, become known to General Colby, in his survey of Ireland. It is important to the surveyor, and interesting to the geologist.

The angles between the stations, and of azimuth, in common with all the observations of the survey, are re-



peated again and again; for no instrument is so perfect as to require no variety of position to balance its errors; the atmosphere of no region is so steady as to be unvarying in its influences, and the observer himself differs at different times in his reading of the same angle, indicated by vernier or microscope.

The position of one of these points of the primary triangles being known, the length of one of the sides by a chain of triangles from the base, the angles between the different sides, and the azimuth of one, the lengths of the other sides and the differences of latitude and longitude must be computed. The triangle is spherical, but an ingenious method of computing was devised by Legendre, by which, after correcting for what is called the "spherical excess," the sides can be considered as sides of plane triangles, equal in length to the arcs. The differences of latitude and longitude calculated as on a plane would be very erroneous, as the extension of a small portion of meridian or parallel would lie above the surface of the earth. The figure of the earth has been a subject of inquiry since the time of Eratosthenes, and its investigations have engaged the attention of distinguished mathematicians and enlightened governments for the last century. It is not a question whose consequences are confined to the earth, for, in however small quantities, it enters into the investigations of the motions of the other bodies of the system with which it is connected. To ascertain its peculiarities of figure, astronomical observations must be combined with geodetic measurements. The differences of latitude ascertained by astronomical observations in degrees, between two places, compared with the difference in feet, will give the length of a degree. The French government, always on the alert in the cause of science, instituted a measurement of an arc of the meridian as early as the year 1670, from Amiens to Paris. This was measured by Picard; it was extended by Cassini south to Perpignan, and again to Barcelona in Spain; then by Biot and Arago to the most southern of the Balearic Isles. The French government also measured an arc from the Gulf of Bothnia, north; this has been extended under the direction of Struve, by the Russian government, south to Izmael on the Black Sea, making an immense arc, and if

it is connected with one measured by the British government in India, it will give an arc of about sixty degrees. One of six degrees was measured by the French government in South America in 1735; the English government measured one at the Cape of Good Hope, by Lacaille, about the year 1750; and in 1768, one of about one and a half degrees, by Mason and Dixon, crossing the line between Pennsylvania and Maryland. These arcs, measured thus in the frozen regions of the north and under the burning sun of the south, when years have been necessary to overcome the obstacles, are creditable to the energy of the governments which sustained them; it is sad to see the devotion of those who conducted them so often proved by the sacrifice of life.

These measurements show that the degrees of latitude increase in length from the equator to the poles, but there have been occasionally results which seemed to show that this was not the unvarying law. The arc at the Cape of Good Hope gave some discrepancies when compared with the others, and for a time it was supposed that the earth's figure might be irregular in that region; Laplace suggested that the errors might arise from local attraction, and recent observations, made by Maclear with improved instruments, show the correctness of his supposition. The coast of the United States affords some good opportunities for aiding in this work. An arc of three and a half degrees extends from Nantucket to Blue Mountain, and another, of nearly three degrees, from near Portsmouth, Virginia, to Delaware River. This southern arc is of importance, as that of Mason and Dixon showed such disagreement, when compared with the others, that Bessel rejected it in his determination of the ellipticity of the earth, from the best observations. The coast survey observations are not yet completed, but they already show that the disagreement found by Mason and Dixon is not seen in their measurements.

The shape of the earth in the direction of the parallel is another question of interest; and in the Coast Survey, the long arc which extends along the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico, from the coast of Florida to the mouth of the Mississippi, presents one of the best opportunities ever afforded for enlightenment upon this subject.

From a combination of the measurements of arcs of the meridian in different latitudes, rejecting those which might reasonably be considered erroneous, Bessel considered the ellipticity of the earth to be between  $\frac{1}{299}$  and  $\frac{1}{300}$ . The knowledge of this ellipticity and of the radius of curvature in different latitudes enters into the calculations of the Coast Survey, for the differences of latitude and longitude derived from the observations of azimuth and for projection. The formulæ for reduction involve the higher mathematics. The practical man who uses these formulæ with ease is apt to forget the learning which is required for their proper application, the patient thinking which has brought them to their present simplicity of form.

At the extremities of these arcs of the meridian which we have mentioned, at some of the angles of the primary triangles, and wherever in the country a fixed observatory and good instruments are found, the use of which can be obtained at trifling cost, observations for latitude and longitude are made for the use of the survey. Though last to be employed in the order of time, the telegraphic operations for difference of longitude are now the most accurate and most important; we therefore consider them first. The earliest attempt to apply the magnetic telegraph to this end was made by Captain Wilkes, but without the nicety which is introduced into the operations of the Coast Survey. The subject had engaged the attention of the superintendent for some time previous, but the first experiment by the Coast Survey was made in 1846, to connect Washington and Philadelphia. The charge of conducting the experiments was given to Mr. Walker, assistant in the survey, who brought to the work great zeal and great ability; with such combination, few investigations are unsuccessfully pursued. The mode of proceeding consisted in giving a signal at one station, by pressing a key which closed the circuit. This closing was intended to be simultaneous with the passage of a star across the wire of a transit instrument, or with the beat of a chronometer. If the condition of the chronometer at each place is known, the time correctly noted, and no time required for the transmission of the galvanic current, the difference of longitude is known at once, by the difference of time. The

experiments were first made by means of two sidereal timekeepers.

It was found that, when the signals were given from one and received by the other, they were constantly noted at the same fraction of a second. When a mean solar chronometer was substituted for giving the signals, and they were received by a sidereal clock, the time of reception passed over different fractions of the second, and once in about ten minutes there was a coincidence of beats. By observing these coincidences and the marking of intervals at the same station, the difference between the two observers was known. If it were possible for two persons to estimate the time of occurrence of a phenomenon by means of the same instruments, they would not note the same time; their difference is called the "personal equation." Mr. Walker supposes that two persons who continue in the same place and in the same state of health maintain the same "personal equation," but it alters by any change of circumstances. Thus the departments of science which seem most remote touch upon each other; the observations of the Coast Survey lead to physiological and metaphysical questions. The value of this "personal equation" could be ascertained and the corrections for it made, but it was the largest accidental error, and very annoying, as the observers must either change places or be compared together. The wants of the survey called for more perfect methods of observing. Obedient to the call, there sprang up various methods of breaking the circuit and recording automatically. Mr. Bond of Cambridge, Dr. Locke and Mr. Mitchel of Cincinnati, and Mr. Saxton of Washington, each devised a clock upon a plan of his own, in which different methods of breaking the circuit were employed.

The circuit-breaking clock is not, we believe, peculiarly an American invention, but its application to geodesy and astronomy is the result of the needs of the Coast Survey, and the modes of registering are acknowledged as American by the European *savans*. The object of all the different methods is to cause a clock to make and break the galvanic circuit at intervals of a second, indicated by lines or dots on the register, without injury to the rate of the clock. To note the occurrence of a phenomenon, the observer taps a key which makes or breaks the circuit,



and the position of the mark made by the registering apparatus on a fillet of paper, which is kept by machinery constantly passing under the recording instrument, in relation to the record of time which the clock makes, is the date of the event. The difficulty of registering consisted in giving a uniform motion to the registering apparatus. Mr. Walker, in one of his reports to the superintendent, gives the preference to Mr. Bond's method, that of the "spring governor," by which a cylinder carrying the registering paper revolves with the accuracy of the clock. The electrical clock and "spring governor" made for the Coast Survey by Mr. Bond received one of the five medals awarded by the central commission of the recent Industrial Exhibition at London.

The advantage of this method of observing transits of stars, and consequently differences of longitude, is easily seen. In the ordinary method of observing the transit of a star, the eye noticed the instant of the star's bisection by the wire, the ear caught the beat of the chronometer, the mind measured the fraction of a second, and the fingers recorded the time.

The connection between eye and ear is not nice; the ear is supposed to be a far from delicately discerning organ; the judgment of fractions of a second involves error, and the fingers require considerable time to make their record; on their account, the wires of the transit instrument must be some twenty seconds apart. When the transit of a star is tapped upon a key, the closer connection between sight and touch is involved. The art of touching is more easily learned than that of counting seconds by the ear, and as the clock records its own time, the observer is immediately ready for another observation; the wires of the instrument may be placed near together, and the transits of the different stars of a cluster may be observed,—the observer looking at the stars and using his fingers simultaneously, as he would look at the notes of a piece of music, while he touched the keys of a piano. There is, besides, the advantage that different individuals agree much more nearly; for though a "personal equation" must exist, it is found to be insensible. Mr. Bache supposes that the observations made in this way for differences of longitude are not in error more than hundredths of a second.

The introduction of the automatic mode of registering having brought these observations to such accuracy, the next step was to measure the velocity of transmission of the current. It had been before supposed that it was enormously great, greater than that of light. Mr. Walker perceived that a correction was necessary in comparing observations made at different stations, which seemed to have a connection with the distance between those stations. Mr. Walker, in connection with Mr. Mitchel of Cincinnati and Mr. Bond of Cambridge, made some experiments expressly to investigate this subject. The Seaton station of the survey, near Washington, was connected with Cambridge, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Charleston, distances of more than a thousand miles taken in the direction of the wires. The observations for velocity were made with both chemical and mechanical registers. According to Mr. Walker, they agree in giving a velocity of 15,400 miles per second on the iron wire, about one thirteenth the velocity of light. The velocity in the ground is still an unsettled question; it is supposed to be less than that by the wires. There grow out of this question of velocity other questions of interest;—the different times of transmission required for each portion of a signal, supposing it resolvable into two, one made by closing and one by breaking the circuit; the variation of the velocity with the section of the wires, and the crossing of the waves on the two poles of the circuit.

As the telegraph cannot be used for all points, observations are also made of moon culminations, eclipses, and occultations. Mr. Bache instituted a careful investigation of all the observations which could be procured, made in this country or in Europe, of occultations and eclipses, from the papers of learned bodies or from scientific journals, and at the same time established a series of observations of these phenomena at the different places at which proper means could be found. Thus at present observations are making in the first section at Cambridge and Nantucket, in the second at Philadelphia, and in the fifth at Charleston; also at Washington, Cincinnati, and on the western coast.

The observation of moon culminations consists in noting the intervals of transit between the moon and

stars lying nearly on the same parallel of declination, and differing but little in right ascension. These intervals, compared with corresponding ones observed elsewhere, the rate of the moon's motion per hour being known, give the number of hours of difference of longitude. The calculation of longitude from observations of eclipses and occultations involves the relative position of the sun and moon, or the moon and star, for each place. A comparison of the results of these different methods showed a disagreement. The longitude of a place, derived from the moon culminations, is less than that derived from the eclipses and occultations, by several seconds of time. This is a large difference; it was perceived to be too large to be accidental; besides, an accidental error was likely to be destroyed by the number of observations and the variety of circumstances under which they were made. Mr. Walker supposed it to be too large for personal error, or for the effect of the moon's irradiation; and too steady for error in the values of the semidiameter; he decided, therefore, that it must result from error in the parallax, which was derived from Burckhardt's tables, and which were probably erroneous. Subsequently, a change in the value of the moon's parallax was suggested by Airy, and newly discovered sources of disturbance of the moon's motion were made known by Hansen.

Solar tables were commenced by Bessel, which are continued by Hansen, by whom, also, lunar tables are in preparation. Mr. Bache says in his Report: "We expect in due course of time to receive from the Superintendent of the Nautical Almanac the means of comparing our observations of occultations directly with the lunar theory, as perfected by the labors of Pluua, Airy, Hansen, and Peirce, and with Airy's twelve-year catalogue of the stars, when we may resume the subject with better prospects of success." Recently, Mr. Miers Fisher Longstreth of Philadelphia has given new values to the coefficients of the lunar formula, by the use of which a closer agreement between observation and calculation is found, than by the best tables heretofore used.

To determine the difference of longitude between Europe and America, Mr. Bache established a chronometric communication between Liverpool and Cambridge. The

observers on both sides of the Atlantic use the same stars by which to rate their chronometers, and the person who accompanies the chronometers in their transportation compares the personal equation of each observer with himself. Mr. Bond, under whose direction these observations are made, communicates an interesting result, in a letter to Mr. Bache. He states, that the difference of longitude deduced from chronometers making the outward passage is greater than that from the homeward passage, and this too uniformly to be accidental. The cause of this disturbance of the chronometer's rate is an interesting subject, and when made known will be of value to navigators.

Observations for latitude, in the Coast Survey, are made with zenith telescope and zenith sector. Circum-meridian altitudes and prime-vertical transits have passed out of use. In all astronomical observations those in which a result is immediately obtained are preferred; so much does the accuracy depend upon the uniformity of the atmosphere, the steadiness of the instruments, and the equanimity of the observer. When clouds are every moment threatening, as in our variable climate, when a long interval may occur, as in prime-vertical observations, between the east and west transit, the observer is almost sure to be affected by his trembling anxiety. With zenith instruments an observation is completed in a few minutes. The zenith telescope was first used for the determination of latitudes, by differences of zenith distances, by Captain Talcott of the United States Corps of Engineers. The instrument consists of a telescope attached to a vertical column, with which it revolves upon an azimuth-circle. It is fixed in altitude by a brass arc, or, as now used in the Coast Survey, by a friction band and clamp. The readings of differences of zenith distance are made by means of a micrometer, with a movable wire. The telescope having been adjusted to the meridian, the values of a revolution of the micrometer and a division of the level having been found, two stars are selected on opposite sides of the zenith, differing but little in right ascension, and so little in declination that one setting of the instrument in altitude may serve for both.

The position of the first star having been noted at the time of culmination, the instrument is turned  $180^\circ$  until



it meets a clamp previously placed, when the second star enters the field and is observed like the first. As the accuracy of the determinations of latitude by this means depends upon the known places of the stars, an error in the star catalogues is immediately felt. By using the same stars at different stations, differences of latitude are accurately known; but for absolute latitudes other means must combine with the zenith telescope. Mr. Bache uses the Greenwich standard stars, whose places are known, as reference-points for the small stars which are observed with the zenith telescope, and measures their zenith distances by means of the zenith sector. The zenith sector consists of a telescope attached to a vertical iron plane, which carries at each extremity a graduated arc, whose divisions are read by microscopes. It is supposed to be placed exactly vertical, and to be in the meridian of the place of observation. The error of collimation is destroyed by turning the whole upon a vertical axis, so that the observations are made alternately with the face of the instrument to the east and to the west. Having the approximate zenith distance, the observer sets the telescope first, for the second observation, and places a stop upon the arc; he then sets for the first observation. He then reads the brass arc, the microscopic divisions, and the levels attached to the back of the instrument. As the star comes into the field, he bisects it by means of a position micrometer, attached to the eye-piece of the telescope, and calls for the time as it approaches the first of three horizontal wires. He then loosens the clamp, turns the instrument, passes the telescope to the stop, and with the tangent screw brings the wire of the micrometer again to bisect the star. The microscopes and levels are again read; the difference of the two readings gives double the zenith distance of the star. The position of these stars in declination is then known, and, as the observations are made at meridian passage, the places in right ascension; more accurately, if the observations with the transit instrument accompany those of the zenith instrument. As the survey moves over the extent of the coast, other stars become zenith stars, and to a certain limit a catalogue is formed, which, though incomplete, is accurate, and furnishes reference-points which will be valuable in all coming time. •

The zenith telescope with its observer and assistant, the zenith sector with the same, or perhaps more persons, and the transit instrument, are frequently in use at the same time in the observatory of a surveying party. One who sees from a distance the tents of the party, like a snow-cap upon the mountain-top, has little idea of the active life led by the community which there for a time finds its sphere of usefulness. From before sunset of a fine day till early morning of the next, the observatory presents a scene of cheerful activity. The observer at the zenith telescope adjusts his instrument in altitude, sees that the clamp in azimuth is properly placed, and waits for notice of the time from his assistant, who sits at the chronometer. The conversation of the observatory is almost as laconic as that of the chess-board. The assistant, as the time of culmination approaches, calls out the steps of the stars coming, first in minutes, then in half-minutes, when he perhaps hears the reply, "In the field," then every ten seconds, then every second. The observer, with his eye steadily upon the star, keeps it bisected with the movable wire, and when his assistant calls "Time," he reads in reply the number of revolutions and parts of a revolution of the micrometer-head during the observation, and the standing of the level. At the zenith sector and the transit instrument similar operations and similar dialogues are carried on at the same time, each party too intent upon its own work to be disturbed by the presence of the others.

The tedium of astronomical routine observations is not so great as is generally supposed. Those who have looked with interest upon the repetitions of Foucault's pendulum experiment can understand the interest of the observer who sees the earth's motion upon its axis made manifest in the steady apparent motion of the star across the field of his instrument. An interested observer, too, may always combine other observations with those absolutely necessary to his work. The number of variable stars is probably very great, and some of these may come among the stars which he is observing; if his instrument has proper measuring apparatus, he may make some observations upon the double stars; or if he does not aspire to these patience-taxing subjects, he may avail himself of a leisure half-hour, while he awaits the coming

of a star, to examine the adjustments of the instrument, and study its mechanism.

Meteorological and magnetic observations are made in connection with the observations of the astronomical stations. The former are observations of temperature, barometrical elevations, clouds, &c.; the application of some of these is necessary in correcting the astronomical observations. In themselves, they are too isolated to be of much value, except, perhaps, in tracing the path of a storm which takes an encampment in its way. The magnetic observations are necessary for the charts, and they are made on dip, intensity, and declination. The detection of local attraction by the large variation of the needle at small distances, as in harbors, is in some cases very interesting.

The secondary triangulation is made up of the small triangles which connect together the prominent points of the coast. The observations are made with instruments of less accuracy than those used in the primary triangulation, and the sides of the triangles extending to meet the points of the primary triangles depend upon them for starting-points of latitude and longitude, and for the accuracy of their work. Thus, the secondary triangles of Buzzard's Bay are connected with the astronomical stations of Cuttyunk and Indian Hill; those of Cape Cod with those of Manomet and Shootflying. The vertices of these small triangles are thrown upon spires, or signals placed in elevated positions; they serve in their turn as bases for the topography.

The topography presents a picture of the strip of land lying near the coast, as it appears to the eye. In the Coast Survey it is made as minute as the means afforded will allow; it represents the character of the soil, of its cultivated and uncultivated portions, and the artificial structures, towns, cities, and villages, thus giving to the navigator another means of knowing his place, and of judging of its suitability to his needs.

Resting upon all these previously determined points are the triangles of the hydrographic parties. In the survey of harbors, bays, and rivers, boats are placed in positions determined by what is called the "three-point problem"; that is, by measuring from the boat angles to three points which form a triangle, the sides and angles

of which have been previously determined. On the sea-coast, observers are stationed on tripods placed upon elevations, with theodolites. Each observer, at a signal from a vessel placed at a proper distance, observes the angle between the other observer and the vessel, and the work is checked by an angle measured from the vessel between the two observers. Where the survey is carried far from shore, in consequence of the supposed existence of shoals, two vessels assume the position of intermediate stations between the land and the principal vessel; their position in relation to points on the land is ascertained, and then the position of the principal vessel from them. By altering the positions of the two assisting vessels, a series of triangles can be maintained. The hydrographic work of the Coast Survey is best appreciated; its good results are immediate, and come home to the feelings of the great multitude who have interest upon the seas.

The discovery of shoals before unknown, of peculiarities in the configuration of those known, and of new channels, furnishes a topography beneath the water as accurate and as important as that of the upper lands. Among the most interesting investigations of this part of the work is that of the Gulf Stream, commenced by Lieutenant Davis, now Superintendent of the Nautical Almanac, and continued by Lieutenant Bache, the brother of the superintendent, who perished while engaged in the work. One of the results of this investigation was the discovery of what seems to be a wall of cold water suddenly dividing the mass of warm. The dangerous shoals off Nantucket have been a fruitful field to the hydrographic parties; the observations made by Lieutenant Davis and continued by Lieutenant McBlair make known the existence of large and dangerous shoals lying directly in the path of navigation, in some cases quite unsuspected. Lieutenant Davis sought to determine the primitive formation of these shoals, and the result of his speculations was presented to the American Academy, in an interesting and valuable memoir.

The soundings of the hydrographic parties are valuable also to the naturalist, if, as is generally supposed, the waters teem more with life than the land. The specimens are found to vary with the depth of the water;



their consideration and scientific classification are the subject of some of the most interesting papers of the meetings of the American scientific associations.

The observations of the tides constitute another accompaniment of this part of the work; they have revealed some local phenomena, and promise much of general interest.

Following the primary, secondary, and tertiary triangles, the astronomical, topographical, and hydrographical observations are the work of the office at Washington. To a certain degree, the computing of the field-work must go on with it; the observer must compute enough to know that he is working in the right way; but the computing always falls behind the observing. Computers who are not observers are also preferred, as they check the work of the field. Mr. Bache applies to the observations the "calculus of probabilities," in order to ascertain the degree of weight which may be attached to an observation. The "office-work" includes also the drawing, engraving, electrotyping, publishing, printing, and instrument-making; it is a wide field, upon which our limits will not allow us to enter.

The persons employed in the survey are navy and army officers, so far as they can be detailed for the work, and civilians. The navy and army officers are frequently ordered upon other duties, the civilians change voluntarily their vocation, which makes a continual changing of persons intrusted with portions of the work. This must be injurious to the interests of the survey; but as there seems to be in all unavoidable evil a compensating system of good kept up, there arises from this a benefit which accrues to the new-comers to the work. Mr. Bache says, in his Report of 1850: "During the season several of the young *employés* of the Coast Survey were engaged in my camp, and under my immediate direction, in computations of tidal and other observations, and in learning to make the various observations which were in progress." The training of the survey is rigidly exact, and those who, like the above-mentioned *employés*, come under Mr. Bache's immediate instruction, bear grateful testimony to the patience with which he listens to their difficulties, and to the willing ability with which he throws light upon the dark places.

With but a slight interval, the operations of the Coast Survey extend now on the eastern coast from Cape Small in Maine to Texas, and parties are already at work upon the western. We have attempted to trace it in its scientific relations; they are so various, so interwoven and connected, as yet in some respects so unfinished and casting "their shadows before," that we have felt it to be no slight task. At the present stage of the work, it has commanded the admiration of European science, and the generous praise bestowed upon it by Schumacher, Arago, and Humboldt is gratifying to our national pride. Mr. Bache, clear-sighted to the interests of the survey, places the questions which arise in the hands of those best suited to grasp them; and the numerous papers presented at the meetings of our scientific associations, published in the *Astronomical Journal*, in *Silliman's Journal*, in the *Memoirs of the American Academy*, and those of the *Philosophical Society of Philadelphia*, by officers of the survey, are among its consequences, and valuable to the country. Who shall measure that far-reaching result, the intellectual and moral good which a government confers upon its people, when it awakens an interest in questions of science?

M. M.

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ART. VI. — INDIAN TRIBES OF NEW ENGLAND.\*

THE brief statements of the Reports named below enable us to grasp, as it were, the whole history of the Indians of America, for two centuries, in a single thought. The remark, that they are rapidly disappearing from our midst, and that they will soon become utterly extinct, is so common, and so trite, as often to fall upon the ear without exciting feeling or sympathy.

But when we read, in the Reports before us, that the Society's missions in this Commonwealth are now limited to "the Indians of Herring Pond, together with a few

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\* *Annual Reports of the Select Committee of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America.* Presented November 7th, 1850, and November 6th, 1851. Boston: John Wilson and Son.

scattered families of the Marshpee tribe," which do not exceed "a hundred individuals in number," reflections as to the past cannot but arise, and become painful, to those who ponder upon the fate of this doomed race of our fellow-men.

The "temporal and spiritual welfare" of these unhappy people "was a primary object with the founders of our Society, and for whose benefit somewhat more than a fifth part of its present resources was originally bestowed," says the Report for 1850; and it continues:—

"If we consider their present condition and numbers, as seen within New England and the western region of New York, and contrast them with what they were at the beginning of the Society, a little more than sixty years since, or even as they stood within the recollections of the elders among us, it will at once appear how rapid has been their tendency to diminution, and to insensible mingling with either the white or the African race. Instead of the considerable numbers then found among the Indians of the Passamaquoddy and Stockbridge tribes, at the opposite extremes of what was then embraced within the boundaries of Massachusetts: among those of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Narraganset, with them of Marshpee and Herring Pond,—all of whom were under the special care of the Society, to whom missionaries were annually sent, and for whose children schools were regularly sustained,—none now remain as the objects of our care" [except those mentioned in our opening extract].

The Passamaquoddys, here alluded to as no longer enjoying the benefits of the Society's missions and schools, are a people among whom we long mingled, and of whom we retain some pleasant, but many sad recollections. In the hope that our acquaintance with them affords matter not wholly destitute of general interest, we propose to devote this article to a notice of them; and without further reference to the Reports, we enter at once upon that duty.

Of the numerous tribes of Indians that roamed the territory of Maine, the Penobscots and the Passamaquoddys alone remain; and these two, small and feeble as they are, comprise, we suppose, quite one half of the entire Indian population of New England.

Our plan embraces some account of both; but our remarks at this time will be confined principally to the latter. Every thing connected with the early history of

the Passamaquoddys is vague and uncertain. They are not even mentioned by their present name, nor as a distinct tribe, by any of the first voyagers to the coast of Maine, and their existence seems to have been unknown to the first annalists of New England. Smith, the father of Virginia, who came to our waters in 1614, enumerates eleven native tribes, and says that the Penobscots "were the chief and greatest among them." Josselyn, whose second voyage was performed in 1663, supposed, like Smith, that there were no Indians east of the "*Tarratines*," or Penobscots. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the original proprietor and lord palatine of Maine, in his "*Description of New England*," published in 1658, speaks of the natives in the "east and northeast" as the "*Tarentines*." Hubbard notices the "*Tarratines*," or easternmen, but not the Passamaquoddys; while Gookin, who completed his "*Historical Collections of the Indians in New England*" in 1674, does not so much as allude to them. Later writers are fragmentary and unsatisfactory. The pages of Prince, Hutchinson, Belknap, Sullivan, Williamson, and Bancroft, as relates to the Passamaquoddys, considered as a distinct tribe, contain little to show either their numbers, their geographical position, or their course in the wars which desolated the country, from the time of King Philip down to the death of the last Jesuit missionary in Maine, and the extinction of the Norridgewocks. In the absence of positive and accurate information, we might amuse our readers with conjectures,—as some others have done,—but we prefer to speak of their present condition, and of what we have personally heard and seen among them, while our home was in their immediate neighborhood.

And first, as to the lands of the Passamaquoddys. Towards the close of the last century, in a treaty with Massachusetts, they relinquished their interest, claim, and demand in and to all lands in Maine, except the following, which were confirmed to them for ever; namely, all the islands in the River St. Croix between the falls at the head of the tide and the falls below the forks of the north and west branches, fifteen in number, and containing about one hundred acres; township number two in the first range of surveys on the St. Croix, nearly twenty-three thousand acres; Lire's Island, lying in front



of that township, about ten acres; one hundred acres of land on Nemcass Point and adjoining that township on the west side; Pine Island, on the west of Nemcass Point, one hundred and fifty acres; and ten acres of land on Passamaquoddy Bay, at a place called Pleasant Point. The Commonwealth confirmed to them also the right of free fishing in both branches of the St. Croix, and the privilege of passing up and down that river, and over its different *carrying-places*, as well as the right of "sitting down"\* on fifty acres of land at the *carrying-place* between the Bay of West Quoddy and the Bay of Fundy.

After this treaty was confirmed, they fixed their abode at Pleasant Point, about six miles from Eastport, where they built a village and a church, and where they still live a considerable part of the year. The site was originally far too small for their wants, but the Commonwealth in a few years set apart ninety acres of land in addition to the ten above mentioned, which, with a wood-lot of two hundred acres granted to them by Maine at a subsequent period, afford them ample accommodations. They roam the surrounding country, and parties camp on their lands up the St. Croix, and on the lands of others; but the Point is to be regarded as their home. It bears an appropriate name, and is within the grant obtained by Sir Francis Bernard while governor of Massachusetts. At the close of the Revolution, his son John attempted to clear up the Point and make a farm. The fortunes of the young man were at the lowest ebb; his father, driven to England, a victim to the controversy which he provoked, was now dead; his brothers were ruined and in exile; and the misfortunes of his family had saddened, perhaps deranged, his mind. He built a small hut with his own hands, and cut down a few trees; his only companion, a dog. He became discouraged and removed to Boston, but finally abandoned America. Late in life, the unhappy exile at Pleasant Point was prosperous, and, as Sir John Bernard, Baronet, held valuable offices under the British crown.

The number of the Passamaquoddys, when they were first seen by the French, is uncertain. If we consider them as one of the *Etchemin* tribes, as some do, we may

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\* Indian expression for temporary abode or sojourn.

conjecture that, in the early part of the seventeenth century, they numbered quite fourteen hundred. But whatever their strength in ancient times, war, disease, and the white man's fire-water had made fearful havoc among them at the period of the extinction of their brethren on the Kennebec and of their acknowledgment of fealty to the crown of England. Sir Francis Bernard, who probably was well informed, estimates the number of their warriors in 1764 at only *thirty*. Yet there must have been an increase subsequently, since it is known that, while the tribe was divided into Whigs and Tories during the Revolutionary controversy and war, some forty or fifty actually bore arms on the Whig side. Sullivan, in his brief account of the Penobscots, in 1804, estimates the Passamaquoddys at about one hundred and thirty. Different accurate enumerations since the last-named year show continued growth. Thus a census in 1820 gave their exact number as three hundred and seventy-nine; and a second, taken at the request of the writer, in December, 1848, showed, of men, women, and children, a total of four hundred and five. These facts are not destitute of interest. Disappearing as the red man is, from all America, he is still destined to linger on the frontiers of Maine for a century or two to come.

We have seen that they possess considerable property in lands, but their condition is far from being comfortable. Fifty years ago they were much poorer than at present. At that time their summer residence was on the easterly side of Passamaquoddy Bay, and in New Brunswick, where they led a beggarly life, feeding on clams and other shell-fish, and enduring the most severe distresses and deprivations. The government of Massachusetts made but little provision for their relief. Nor was it until the year 1831 that the legislature of Maine gave them an annual stipend for the purchase of food, under the direction of an agent of the State. The fund devoted to their use is derived from the sale of timber on their lands, and is inconsiderable. During the late mania for pine-lands, a resolve was passed to make sale of the township on the St. Croix, at a price not less than two dollars the acre. Much to the regret of many who feel a deep interest in their welfare, the resolve was repealed. A sale of this land would have produced up-

wards of forty thousand dollars, which, invested by the State, as in the case of the Penobscots, who have a fund of more than sixty thousand dollars, derived from the sale of *their* lands, would have yielded an income sufficient to relieve their most pressing wants. The poor are, however, cared for by a resolve of the year 1840; and the females and children of the tribe are gladdened with an occasional appropriation for the purchase of articles of clothing.

A delegation has commonly been sent to the seat of government as often as once in a year. Before the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, however, these visits were less frequent than at present. We speak from personal experience when we say that a deputation of Indian chiefs teasing, following, and dogging a member of a legislative body is one of the greatest possible annoyances to which one's nerves and temper can be subjected. There is always some professed object in view, some grievance to be redressed by, or favor to be obtained of, the governor or legislature; but the *real* motive is, probably, sufficiently indicated in the account given by one of the seven chiefs who went to Boston while the amiable Brooks occupied the executive chair of this Commonwealth. This chief, on being asked, after his return, whether he had accomplished what he desired, answered literally in these words: "O, sartin! Very good man that Gubbenur Brook. O, strange! Great good men set down Boston; they give 'em great many presents. Great deal me like 'em Boston folks. They show 'em theatre,—museum. O, strange! Great many things me see 'em. Me go to church; show me how bury 'em dead,—not quite. Me ride in coach to see Gubbenur Brook. Great deal me like 'em that gubbenur. Great deal me want to walk\* Boston again next spring. O, sartin, brother!"

The first delegation to Governor King was in 1821, while the seat of government was at Portland. It consisted of four; and the account of their visit contains few terms of rapturous praise of men or things. Six years later, one of the same chiefs went again to the capital of Maine, and returned in a steamer. His story of his

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\* *Walk*, Indian phrase for *to go*.

"walk in steamboat" is sufficiently amusing, but we have no room for it. A sum of money to pay the expenses of these deputations is always appropriated by the legislature; and as they *will* remain until "paid off," we cannot do a better service than to advise the luckless member on whom they fasten to introduce his "Resolve" at the earliest possible moment, and, by a "suspension of the rules" in both branches, hurry it through the forms of legislation, or, failing in this, to advance the amount from his private purse.

The first voyagers to America seem to have believed that the Indian form of government was strictly monarchical. But whatever was the theory, there is certain evidence that the succession was not invariably confined to persons of the chief sachem's lineage. As relates to the Passamaquoddys, they, as well as the kindred tribes on the Penobscot and St. John, have claimed and exercised the right to *elect* their sachems, though, according to tradition, their choice has seldom departed widely from the monarchical rule.

The ceremonies at the induction of a new sachem into office occupy several hours. The Indians, male and female, appear in their best attire. The principal men generally wear coats of scarlet cloth, and are decked with silver brooches, collars, and arm-clasps. Their clergyman, a Catholic missionary, is present in full canonicals. The males enter the great wigwam, or council-house, in procession, and according to rank, and seat themselves. The white spectators of the same sex are then permitted to follow, but the ladies are kept without; for, "*Sartin, brother,*" says the ungallant Indian marshal of the day, "*never our squaws nor yours sit with us in our council.*" Silence and order secured, the chief sachem of a kindred tribe, of whom one or more is always invited, makes a speech particularly addressed to the new sachem, and concludes with laying at his feet a wampum-belt. The same friendly sachem, or another, if two be present, makes a second address, after some unimportant ceremonies, and closes with placing a medal on his neck. Meantime, outside of the great wigwam, the progress of matters within is announced from time to time by the firing of a small cannon, and by the hoisting and lowering of a flag from the flag-staff. The *forms* of induction



completed, the priest reads from the Scriptures in Latin, expounds passages of holy writ in the Indian tongue, and performs other religious services. These ended, he places himself at the head of those in the council-house, when all move slowly into the open air, and, forming a sort of circle, sing for several minutes. The priest then departs. The council-house is again filled with Indians and spectators, and the shaking of hands and congratulations are general throughout the assembly. The whites now withdraw. The female Indians, dressed for the occasion, and adorned with brooches, bracelets, and feathers, enter for the first time, and the whole join in a dance, accompanied by vocal music and a drum. The dance finished, the females retire, the males resume their seats, and the whites reënter. Some of the inferior sachems now sing, one at a time, all the other Indians *grunting* in chorus, or uttering a sound not dissimilar to a hiccup. A feast follows, and dances, and wild, rough sports in the evening conclude the performances.

In 1836, two years after the decease of Francis Joseph Neptune, his son, John Francis, was elected his successor, and is the present chief sachem of the tribe. Sachem John has had an unquiet reign. Sabatis Neptune, with a strong party, has opposed him almost from the first; and in 1844, Newell Neptune, the sachem next in rank, was elected to displace him. Sixty-eight votes were cast, and the choice of Newell was unanimous. This was the result of an open rupture which occurred two years previously, on the 4th of July, when the flag-staff was cut down and burned, and several Indians were injured in a fight. We have before us Sachem John's account of the affair, and the counter-statement of his arch-foe and evil genius, Sabatis Neptune, but have space for neither. The opening sentence in each will serve to show the temper in which the quarrel was conducted. "Brothers," says Sachem John, "be it known, that Sabatis Neptune, of the Passamaquoddy tribe, has been, and now is, a very troublesome Indian." "Brothers," rejoins Sabatis, "what John Francis tell is lie." Among the accusations against Sabatis was one which apparently wounded him deeply, namely, that he was under allegiance to Queen Victoria. His objects, as avowed by himself, were two; first, to displace Francis, whom he hated, and second, to intro-

duce and establish the custom of an annual election of chief sachem. As he is of the lineage of the royal family of the Penobscots, and is proud of his birth, those who know him well possess but little faith in his "democracy."

Empty as is the supreme authority, there were two claimants for it, as we have seen, and for several years. In August, 1848, the quarrel was adjusted, and Francis was declared to be the only true and lawful chief sachem. As in all cases of difficulty, the Penobscots and St. Johns were consulted, and delegations from both tribes came to Pleasant Point to assist in the reconciliation which was there effected. A formal treaty was concluded, which bears the signatures, or signs, of the principal men of the three nations. Among the Penobscots who attended was a fine-looking chief, of the age of twenty-seven years, named Sawkis, who recited to the writer his entire speech in council. After it was written, he corrected it, word for word, as it was read to him. It is quite too long for insertion here; its close is as follows: "Great Spirit, two hundred years ago, melt Indians' hearts, like snow put in fire. French come to Quebec and tell Indians who made this world, and trees, and every body. Indians knew there must be great man somewhere, but did not see where he lived. French tell Indians all about him, and give them Roman Catholic religion. Indians live happy ever since."

Sawkis related that his speech was without effect. Turning to the Penobscot delegates, he said: "Brothers, they will not hear. I tell you this business must end. The bullies must fight. Search 'em every man, so that no Indian have knife when he fight." This plan was adopted. Five champions for each party were selected to determine the controversy. Their friends respectively, with flags hoisted, drew round to witness the strife. The combat lasted about fifteen minutes. The champions on the side of Sachem Francis had been instructed in boxing by a white teacher while on a visit to the Penobscots, and were victorious. Two of Sabatis's men were much hurt.\* At the close of the contest, proclamation was

\* The writer was not present, as he intended to be, at the settlement of this quarrel. In a conversation with the Catholic clergyman of Eastport on the subject, that gentleman remarked that Sawkis's account of the fight, as here related, is somewhat exaggerated.

made that John Francis should be governor, and that the honor should descend in his family. The Sabatis party, pointing upward, attested their assent, by saying, "*I tell truth, by our Saviour.*" The tale may well excite a smile. Yet the warfare of years between these two rival factions, to obtain the nominal rule and government of four hundred and five wretched beggars, is not wholly unlike some of the quarrels among ourselves.

In 1838 there was a similar difficulty among the Penobscots. There, as in his own tribe, Sabatis was the master spirit of one of the parties. His influence and his speech in council were sufficient to depose the governor and the lieutenant-governor, who had been in office many years. But though others were elected in their places, they steadily refused to consider themselves ejected, and, sustained by a strong party, they gradually recovered their influence, and are now regarded as the chiefs of the tribe. Thus the principle, that sachems once invested with the insignia hold office for life, seems to be fully established in both tribes.

Our readers may be curious to ascertain something of an Indian governor's dignity and authority. We regret, after the most diligent inquiry, that we cannot inform them. The fishermen have a saying, that a "skipper" among them differs from a common hand because he is called "Skipper," and has the privilege of sculling the punt, or boat, from their vessel to the shore on Sunday; and so it is possible that a chief sachem differs from other savages because *he* is addressed as "*Gubbenur*," and wears a wampum-belt and one or more silver medals.

The language of the Passamaquoddys is a topic which claims our attention; but it must be discussed with brevity. The late Governor Lincoln of Maine, who was much interested in the subject, was of the opinion that *all* the natives within the limits of that State "could understand each other without an interpreter." We now observe a difference between the Penobscots and Passamaquoddys, but it is hardly greater than is to be found in the English language, as spoken in the various States of the Union; hence we may conclude that, originally, the words of variation were much fewer than at present. It is certain, at all events, that the Passamaquoddys, the Penobscots, and the St. Johns converse together with

perfect ease. The names of persons in these three tribes are very similar. Thus Sockbason, Neptune, Tomer, Francis, Aitteon, and many others, are common in all.

The long words which are found in the Indian languages seem to render pronunciation impossible; and no wonder that Cotton Mather is said to have thought they must have been growing ever since the confusion of tongues at Babel. The learned author of the *Life of Eliot*, in Sparks's "American Biography," relates that that divine once put some demons upon their skill in the tongues, and found that they could manage to understand Latin, Greek, and Hebrew very well, but were baffled by the speech of the Indians. He was not so extravagant as may be supposed. When Eliot translated *kneeling*, the word he was compelled to use fills a line, and numbers eleven syllables.

The dialect of the Passamaquoddys is hardly better. To speak the word *evil*, we are required to pronounce *sik-im-ag-ail-mo-qua*. Nine, in numerals, is *os-quen-andake*. Flower is *pos-quos-wa-sek*. People is *pam-a-os-e-wer*. Seed is *as-gan-ny-me-nal*. Grass is *mes-kig-o-wail*. Some words, on the other hand, are very short; thus, two is *nes*; five is *nane*; bread is *apan*; child is *waris*; fire is *skut*; moon is *kisos*; snow is *warst*.

In repeating the Lord's Prayer, an Indian of Maine can express all the *ideas* which it embraces, but not in the terms used by us. Instead of the sentiment, "Forgive those who trespass against us," for example, he would say, "We pardon all wrong-doers," and employ these two long words, namely, *num-e-se-comela-ent* and *tah-hah-la-we-u-keap-ma-che-ke-cheek*.

The names of several places are corruptions. Passamaquoddy signifies *the place where catch 'em great many pollock-fish*, and should be spelled *Pas-co-dum-o-quen-keag*. The Schodoc, the present St. Croix, was originally *sko-dak*, or *burnt land*; Penobscot was *Penobs-keag*, the *place of rocks*; Openango, one of the *fancy* names of the Passamaquoddys, was *O-pe-nud-y-o*, which has the same meaning as "little sable very cunning."

Though the Indian manner of speaking English has already incidentally appeared, we may still add one or two additional illustrations. The word "sartin" (certain) is very emphatic, and, as sometimes pronounced



in anger, will cause the white man to look about him. "'Spose" (suppose) is not used hypothetically, but as a direct affirmative. The pronoun "me" is almost invariably employed instead of the nominative "I." In relating a transaction of the past, one, two, three, or four fingers held up indicates the exact number of years, months, or days that have transpired; while, if the time of the event cannot be computed in this way, the remark is, "O, me 'spose great while ago."

Of the order observed in the placing of words, two amusing examples occur to us. Thus, a hunter, in boasting of the great success of his father in trapping musquash, said, "Five hundred musquash he kill 'em my father." "Ah," responded a white, to tease him, "your father dead, then." "Nah" (no), tartly rejoined the Indian, "musquash, *he* dead."

In the other case, a delegation of two chiefs to the seat of government disputed their tavern bill, and, with the landlord, came to the writer, to effect an adjustment. Mine host, having told his story, and among other things said that the Indians were enormous eaters, and had consumed a whole turkey at a sitting, one of them angrily answered, "'Spose lie,—turkey he eat 'em four white man fuss";—meaning that this number of the landlord's other guests had made their meal before them, and that they, as was probably the fact, had feasted only on what these had left.

In religion, the Passamaquoddys are Catholics. If, as we are inclined to believe, from the evidence we have examined, they are to be considered as a branch of the Penobscots, then they were the earliest converts to the Jesuits in the United States east of the Mississippi. It was the boast of the French at the close of the seventeenth century, that they had established a line of communication between Maine and the Gulf of Mexico, and that they claimed possession of the country from one extremity to the other, because the Jesuits had carved lilies on the trees, and erected crosses on the high banks of the streams, as emblems of their rights and proofs of their occupation. The country between the Penobscot and the St. Croix was their first mission-ground. There, before the settlement of Plymouth, a mission was broken up, and a Catholic father was murdered, by Episcopal

voyagers from Virginia. But instead of abandoning the natives, new missions were established, and were maintained without intermission until the death of Rasle, or for more than a century.

Of the missionaries of a recent day, the late Cardinal Cheverus claims our first and most respectful notice. The last person ordained in Paris previous to the French Revolution, — a refugee in England, — he came to America with the certain knowledge that, for a part of the time at least, he was to labor among the Passamaquoddys and Penobscots. Some aged Indians of the former tribe still remember his instructions, and have repeated to the writer fragments of his discourses. His sufferings frequently were extreme; and these, he used to remark, were his only compensation. He learned the Indian tongue of a squaw. Dividing his time, when in Maine, between the two tribes, he devoted himself incessantly to the pulpit, to catechizing, the confessional, baptizing, and to visiting the sick and infirm. At his coming, the mission had been vacant for a considerable period; but he found that the teachings of the Jesuits were not entirely forgotten, and that the Indians retained some knowledge of the catechism. He promised to visit them every year, and faithfully kept his word, until he was consecrated as Bishop of Boston, when the cares of his diocese required him to terminate his labors in Maine.

His successor was the Rev. James R. Romaine, who was also a native of France, and who was a most worthy gentleman. He lived with the two tribes, almost without interruption, for about twenty years. He instructed them and conversed with them in their own tongue, and his ministry was attended with beneficial results. His example in every respect was good. He endeavored not only to improve their morals, but to induce habits of industry and prudent forecast for the future. He visited Eastport often, and when there was commonly the guest of a Baptist. The inhabitants of that town retain a happy recollection of him. He returned to France some thirty years ago.

The successor of Romaine was a Protestant. While the post was vacant, the Rev. Elijah Kellogg was employed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for several years. His labors were confined exclusively

to the Passamaquoddys. No man could have been more devoted and assiduous; but he was not successful. The Indians were fixed in the Catholic faith, and missed the pomp and show of their old form of worship. He opened a school for the instruction of the children in reading and writing; but the first trial of discipline dissolved it, and scattered the Indian boys and girls to the four winds. In 1827 the Catholics resumed the mission, and still hold it. In the course of that year the late Bishop Fenwick of Boston paid the Indians a visit. Dressed in their richest costume, they met him at Eastport, and escorted him to their village at Pleasant Point, and throughout the day saluted him with cannon and small-arms. While at the Point, he administered the sacrament of confirmation to several, and performed other rites of the Roman Church; and before his departure for Boston, he preached in the Unitarian meeting-house at Eastport to a crowded assembly of Protestants, and red men of his own faith.

Another Catholic missionary to the Passamaquoddys, and the last who *lived* with them, was the Rev. Edmund Louis Demillie, whose labors were continued without intermission for nine years. He was born in Paris, and was educated by an uncle who held office under Charles the Tenth. He was a good scholar and a faithful minister. When he entered upon his duties, he could neither speak English nor the language of his people. But he acquired a very good knowledge of both, and published a prayer-book and an elementary work of instruction in the Indian tongue.

During his ministry he was often without food, except that, at the going down of the tide, he appeased his hunger by procuring clams from the beaches near his house. The Protestants in the neighboring towns admired his character, and, had his deprivations been known at the time, relief would have been prompt and abundant. He seems to have felt that it was his duty to suffer, and to suffer in silence. Severe professional toil, and the want of proper and regular aliment, impaired his health, and probably shortened his life. He fell into a decline, and, wasting away in consumption, died at Eastport in July, 1843. His remains were conveyed to the Indian village, where they now repose.

The Catholic clergymen of Eastport consider the Passamaquoddys as under their spiritual care, in the absence of a resident pastor, and occasionally officiate among them. Of these, we recall the names of Barber, Hutten Walsh, French, Healey, John Walsh, Kernan, McMahon, Carrahar, and Boyce.

The chapel now occupied at Pleasant Point was completed in 1835. It was built from the proceeds of timber cut on the Indian township, and is neat and suitable. In 1845, a second chapel was erected on the lands at the forks of the St. Croix. Burial-grounds are attached to both. There is also a parsonage at each place. The State allows a small sum \* annually for the support of a missionary, but it is wholly inadequate, and may as well be withdrawn. That they require a clergyman to reside among, and be of them, none who know any thing of the Indian character will deny. To say nothing of spiritual culture, no other person can so well correct their habits of improvidence and wastefulness, so well restrain their love of strong drink, so well hush the contentions and regulate the labor of the few who can be driven to hunt or fish, by threats or persuasions.

The Indians at Pleasant Point, without an exception, live in frame-houses; but for several years Sockbasen's frame-dwelling, the old chapel, and the building occupied by the priest were all of this description in the village. The wigwam was a frail and unsightly structure, but it may be doubted whether the change is for the better. Their old abodes were comparatively comfortable in winter, inasmuch as the snow which accumulated from time to time excluded all the cold air near the ground; but the dwellings constructed in rude imitation of ours are without cellars, and crevices and open joints are numerous from top to bottom.

The Passamaquoddys are one of the few American tribes that live on the sea-shore. Their habits and means of support differ, therefore, in some respects, from those of the natives of the interior. The males hunt, and the females manufacture baskets and fancy boxes, as elsewhere; but the making of herring-sticks and birch-bark torches for the herring-catchers, and the shooting of por-

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\* In 1848 it was one hundred dollars.



poises in the waters of the bay, are among their most important employments. They manage their frail bark-canoes with surpassing skill, and not only venture to sea, and cross from island to island ten or twelve miles apart, but make voyages along the shore for a hundred miles and more, seldom meeting with disaster.

They kill the porpoise for its oil, and were they industrious, this animal would richly reward them, and furnish them with most of the comforts of life. As things are, adventures for it are seldom undertaken, except at times of pressing want, and in the waters adjacent to the Point.

They cannot be induced to cultivate the soil. In 1833 the legislature of Maine made an appropriation of money for the purpose of encouraging agriculture among them, and a degree of success attended the measure, succeeded, as it was, by others having the same benevolent design. Bounties on several kinds of farm produce stimulated them for a few years, but neither public aid nor the counsel and advice of friends could induce them to persevere and rely upon the soil for support. In 1846, the sum of fifteen hundred dollars was appropriated from the sales of timber cut upon their lands, to erect a mill for the manufacture of boards, clapboards, and shingles, for their use. To add now, that, by the statutes of Maine, all persons are forbidden, under penalties, to sell or give them spirituous liquors, completes a rapid notice of the legislation in their behalf most worthy of attention.

Few of the Passamaquoddys can safely be allowed credit. The general remark of the merchants who deal with them is, that, without pledges of silver ornaments or other property, the debts which they contract are seldom paid. In a word, they are a miserable people. Lazy and filthy, without regular hours for food or rest, possessing an inordinate love of strong drink, improvident and wasteful, they are objects of pity. Patient and uncomplaining in suffering, taciturn and sedate, those of the frontier towns who mingle with them daily seldom hear a recital of their woes, even when they beg for cast-off garments or articles of food; but those who visit their village will go away with sad and heavy hearts. For the twenty-five years that we have known them, there has been no change for the better. Indeed, we think that we can see very considerable decline in their man-

ners and morals. These remarks are, however, to be considered as general, for there are some persons among them who are to be spoken of with entire respect.

We incline to believe, that, as a people, they would be far happier and more comfortable were they to abandon Pleasant Point, and to settle upon their lands on the upper waters of the St. Croix. But whether they remain or remove, the State is bound, in common humanity, to assume a more direct, active, and energetic guardianship over them. The experiment of attempting to reform their vagrant habits in matters of labor and its rewards, has been tried, has signally failed, and need not be repeated. Yet the government of Maine can make, and we venture to say ought to make, suitable, and even liberal, provision for the *permanent* residence among them of a Catholic clergyman who is willing to give his life to their service. Wedded fast to the faith and ceremonies of the Roman Church, they will heed the instructions and rebukes of no Protestant. They require a master who, while he commands, will still advise, and who, while he indulges, will hold them to a strict obedience. No measure for their relief in things *temporal* will succeed, if this be neglected. The ministry of a Cheverus or of a Romaine cannot, indeed, be secured; but a priest as exemplary and as devoted as was Demillie would do much to reclaim them.

This general view of the *tribe* will suffice. We propose, in conclusion, to notice some of its individual members.

Though the Passamaquoddys, as we are led to conclude, appear in no treaty or other document as a distinct people prior to 1760, there is reason to believe, from their traditions, and especially from their connection with the French, that they participated in most of the wars from the period of King Philip down to the termination of the Jesuit missions. Whatever the number and prowess of their warriors, the names of but few have been preserved. Our own knowledge is limited to two, namely, Egeremet the elder, whose signature, or sign, stands first in the treaty with Sir William Phips at Pemaquid, in 1693, and who was soon after decoyed and murdered by an officer in the colonial service; and Egeremet the younger, who was a conspicuous actor in the

war which resulted in the extermination of the Norridge-wocks.

The third chief sachem who deserves to be mentioned is Francis Joseph Neptune, who belonged to our own times. Like his friend Orono, chief of the Penobscots, he was a Whig in the war of the Revolution, and took the field with such of his warriors as espoused the popular side. When Sir George Collier, with a ship of forty guns and four smaller vessels, attacked Fort Gates, on the Machias, Governor Francis conducted the defence on one side of the river, and much of the success of the day was attributed to his good conduct. It would seem that stratagem was more effectual than force, since both the Indians and the whites raised, and kept up, a hideous yell, and induced the assailants to believe that the surrounding woods were full of wild savages. In the opinion of gentlemen entirely competent to judge, the adherence of the Penobscots and Passamaquoddys to the Whig cause saved to the United States a large and valuable tract of country; for, at the peace, the *possession* of the eastern moiety of Maine was held to give a title to it. It is of interest to remark, in this connection, that the late Albert Gallatin performed his first services to his adopted country at Fort Gates, and easterly to the frontier, and that, though but a youth of twenty, he exercised a wholesome and restraining influence over the Passamaquoddys, with whom, to rely on the traditions of the time, he freely mingled.

Governor Francis often boasted of his deeds in the Revolution. In the war of 1812, neither he nor his people took a part. After the capture of Eastport, attended by the head men of his tribe, he often visited the British officers in command, and was courteously treated. His visits were conducted with all the parade and show of finery that poverty would allow. Many of the officers had never seen an American savage, and Neptune and his retinue were objects of great curiosity.

The Governor was also a man of considerable intellect, and of a kind and placable disposition. He was generally respected. The last years of his life were rendered comfortable by a pension for his services in the war of the Revolution. He died in 1834, at the supposed age of ninety-nine years.

His son, John Francis, as has been remarked, is the present governor. When young, he was one of the most adventurous and successful hunters in the tribe. But he is now a broken, dejected, and imbecile man. His public troubles with Sabatis and his party, relative to the sachemship, of which we have spoken, together with his domestic trials, have reduced him to a mere wreck, and, without pride of station or pride of costume, he moves among his people, an empty shadow of kingly authority.

Deacon Sockbasen, as he was called, was a person of some talents, and for a while of great consideration. He built the first frame-house at the Point, and the legislature of Maine, upon his petition, allowed him to hold twenty acres of the land there for his individual use and cultivation. He was ambitious to be considered as a civilized man, and was vain of his conversational powers, of having learned to read and write, and of the attentions and presents bestowed by the several Presidents and heads of departments, whom he visited at Washington. For many years he was the principal adviser and man of business, and his opinion was decisive; but towards the close of his life he was extremely unpopular, and without influence. He was accused of apostasy from the Catholic faith; and his course in matters of religion gave countenance to the charge; but in his last sickness he returned to the bosom of the Church. He died at Pleasant Point, of consumption, in 1841, at the age of sixty.

Another Passamaquoddy of note was Joseph Stanislaus. In his own conceit, he was a personage of vast consequence, and officiously obtruded himself upon every body. He commonly introduced himself to strangers, though he could neither read nor write, as "Captain Joseph Stanislaus, Secretary, Esquire"; and in the tribe assumed to be the lawyer and doctor. In the latter capacity, he seemed to think that he had no equal. As physicians of a whiter skin sometimes do, Doctor Jo called his rivals quacks and impostors. At his dictation, the following notice was written and published in a newspaper:—

"Me tell every bodies, that Capt. Lewey, Penobscot Indian no doctor. Sartin, too, me speak that, Mary-han,



Passamaquoddy squaw, *he*\* no stammany† doctoring neither. They kill 'em all sick-folks, — every bodies hear 'em me speak this."

The Passamaquodys are not insensible to the loss of their lands, as the following incident will show. A friend,‡ who owns a large tract of forest in the vicinity of Pleasant Point, while on a visit to his property, met Stanislaus, with a party of Indians, coming from the woods, heavily laden with packs of birch-bark, which they had stripped, as he supposed, from his trees, to sell to the herring-catchers for torch-lights, and rebuked them sharply for the theft. Stanislaus manifested great emotion while the gentleman was speaking, and, as he concluded, slipped his pack from his back, advanced towards him, and, in intense excitement, thus spoke: "Shadbun no make 'em trees, Shadbun no make 'em land; *God* make 'em trees, — land. *Indians* no steal 'em bark. Indians' land, Indians' trees, Indians' bark, Indians' water, great while ago. *God* give 'em to Indians. *White man* come, Shadbun, — *he* steal 'em Indians' land, and every ting."

Jo was an uncompromising opponent of the Protestant missionary to whom we have referred, and used every art and subtlety to displace him. His air was commanding; and, stout and athletic, and possessed of a vigorous mind and insinuating address, he was a model savage. His decease occurred within a few years.

To mention Jo Beetle, and his squaw, "Mrs. Sally Jo Beetle," is to recall persons who were universally known on the frontier of Maine, and of whom all classes and ages had something pleasant to relate. *Mr.* Jo was sure to be drunk in an hour after his arrival in town, but, drunk or sober, nobody feared him day or night. A better-natured Indian has never lived; and he was so comical in his cups, that the gravest smiled at his pranks and sayings. No Frenchman could lift a hat to pay his respects more gracefully, gesticulate more naturally, or pronounce the word "*Sir*" with more emphatic meaning. Shrewd, polite, and witty, he was a favorite with men, women, and children, everywhere. Among the

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\* The Indians always use the masculine gender.

† *Stammany* means *understand*.

‡ Ichabod R. Chadbourne, Esq., of Eastport.

many anecdotes of Jo we select one. Though generally honest, his appetite for liquor once got the mastery, and he stole an axe to procure the means to gratify it. A person to whom he offered to sell the axe refused to buy, remarking that it was worn out, that there was no *steel* in it. Jo, thirsting for the strong-water, exclaimed, "*Steel, brother, sartin, steal, — me steal 'em myself.*"

We introduce Joseph Lewey merely to relate a story. He was known by every body as "*Lazy Jo*"; and no one, probably, since the time of Adam, has better deserved the appellation. During the recent controversy with England relative to our northeastern boundary, and in the excitement of the "*Aroostook war*," so called, Jo happened at a town on the British side of the St. Croix, and was told, by some persons who designed to tease him, that he and his brethren must prepare for the coming hostilities, and join the side of her Majesty. He listened, but rather grunted than uttered his disinclination to fight. His tormentors insisted, and drew a second and more emphatic negative. Jo grew angry, lazy as he was; and, urged time and again to give his reasons for not taking arms, roared out at last, with an energy that dispersed the crowd, "*Wheugh! you spose me fight under squaw-king!*" Contempt for women is a well-known trait in Indian character, and is well illustrated in this anecdote.

Enough has been said, in another place, of Sabatis Neptune, the evil genius of Governor Francis, to show the force of his character. In the vain distinctions preserved among his people, he ranks as the senior counsellor of the tribe, and, at home and abroad, is their principal orator. His intellect is of high order; and his speeches evince method, correct reasoning, and malignant invective. Passages in his harangue in the council which, in 1838, deposed the Penobscot chiefs, will compare with the finest specimens of Indian eloquence. He has been a restless intriguer all his life. Bending now under the weight of sixty-six years, his vigor is much impaired, and his step, always stealthy, has become a kind of snaky creep. In the course of his quarrel with Governor Francis, his attachment to the village at Pleasant Point became weakened; and before its close, he abandoned the sea-shore for the hunting-grounds on the St. Croix,

where many of his party have joined him. Sabatis has a lean, even shrunken face, a piercing eye, and a thoughtful air, and his every movement shows the wily savage.

John Lacote is about sixty years of age, and on his father's side is of French descent. His temper is impetuous and vindictive, but he is one of the most intelligent men in the tribe. Fifteen years ago, he scarcely had an equal in personal beauty, or a rival on the hunting-grounds. Intemperance has been his ruin.

Newell Neptune, the lieutenant-governor, is the last of whom we shall speak. His age is less than fifty; but he appears much younger. A favorite of the Sabatis party, he was elected to displace Governor Francis. He is grave, thoughtful, and modest even to diffidence. He speaks English extremely well, but, taciturn beyond his race, seldom engages in conversation with white men. His words always have meaning. In his disposition he is kind and amiable, in his person handsome, and in his conduct unexceptionable. When among the Penobscots and the St. Johns, to attend councils, his dignity and general propriety attract admiration.

Such are the Passamaquoddys as a tribe; such, some of their principal men. Should we fulfil our intention of speaking of the Penobscots, it will be seen that, less degenerate, with more property, of greater intelligence and industry, they are superior in almost every thing.

L. S.

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#### ART. VII. — "NATURAL RELIGION."\*

WE are glad to see that Mr. Fox, who is better known to us as a preacher than as a politician, has not, in relin-

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\* 1. *On the Religious Ideas.* By W. J. Fox, M. P. London: Charles Fox. 1849.

2. *The Religions of the World and their Relations to Christianity considered in Eight Lectures founded by the Right Hon. Robert Boyle.* By FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, M. A. London: John W. Parker. 1847.

3. *The Progress of the Intellect as exemplified in the Religious Development of the Greeks and Hebrews.* By ROBERT WILLIAM MACKAY. In two Volumes. London: John Chapman. 1850.

4. *Darstellung und Kritik der Beweise für das Dasein Gottes.* Von C. FORTLAGE. Heidelberg. 1840.

quishing the clerical function, entirely withdrawn himself from theology, but still finds time, in his new career, for occasional diversions in the old field. The work we have cited below, though conceived in a different spirit and reflecting very different views, coincides with that of Mr. Maurice in its general purpose, which is to exhibit the connection between the religious ideas of different nations, and to trace their relation to the Christian faith. The learned, but ill-digested production of Mr. Mackay concurs with this design, so far as two of the leading nations of antiquity are concerned; while Fortlage's admirable treatise, of which we should like well to see an English version, presents a complete history of the argument for the being of God, as conducted by Pagan and by Christian philosophers.

All these investigations go to illustrate the fact of a universal religion, — a religion which, with different developments incident to different periods and dispensations, is common in its leading ideas to all times and tribes. This universal religion is what is meant by the term "*natural*" religion, as used by English writers, in distinction from "revealed." We question, for our own part, the validity of this distinction, as intended to designate different methods by which religious ideas have been obtained, or might be obtained, by man. The distinction is futile, because it is impossible to ascertain with precision what ideas in this sense are natural to man, and what are not; what might have been reached without the successive dispensations of religion which have hitherto passed upon mankind, and what would have proved unattainable. And not only so, but if we attempt to define to ourselves what we mean by a natural discovery in religion, as distinct from divine communication, we shall find it impossible to draw a line of demarcation which shall satisfy ourselves and the common judgment of mankind.

We say it is impossible to ascertain with precision what ideas in religion are "natural," — that is discoverable by natural processes, — and what are not. We have no *data* for determining this question. If we assume, as a test, the conclusions of Christian philosophers who have labored to reproduce by a dialectic process, or to fix on a basis of pure reason, the primary truths of religion, the value of that test is impaired by the very fact that



these philosophers were Christian, and as such already possessed of those truths which they labored to deduce. It matters little how just the conclusions or how irrefragable the logic; they prove nothing as to the competence of the human understanding to discover religious truths, since the truths to be discovered preëxisted in the mind. It is easy to do the sum when the answer is given. You may go to your library in the dark, and take the volume which you want from its place on the shelf. But in order to do that, you must have been there before in the light. The question is not whether the conclusions are just, but whether they are spontaneous; not whether the true doctrine has been hit by this process, but whether the groping intellect would ever have seized it without the prevenient grace of a higher illumination. For those who enjoy the light of Christianity to fancy that they really disuse that light, while professing to ignore it, is a poor delusion, like that of children playing blindfold, and pretending to walk with their eyes shut, while at every turn they peep beneath the bandage, and, by surreptitious observation, furnish themselves with a new direction. The truths in these reasonings are always presumed; they are always foreseen. They are not discovered by any light which the process of ratiocination engenders, but, as Herschel discovered Uranus, by virtue of their own lustre,—our reason being only the speculum in which the truth is mirrored.

Or shall we seek our proofs of natural discoveries in religion beyond the Christian era? Shall we seek them in the writings of the ancients who have speculated on these subjects? Shall we seek them in Ionic, Eleatic, and Italic philosophies? Or in Plato and Cicero and Seneca? Here, too, the same objection meets us, although in a modified form. Wherever these philosophers have asserted a religious truth, there is reason to suspect the spontaneity of their conclusions. We always find, on investigation, that they had sat down by foreign streams, and filled their earthen vessels with a lore which preëxisted before their inquiries. Cicero derived his wisdom from the Academy, whose earliest and best voices had taught the same three hundred years before. Plato, whose name denotes a new era of the intellect, and marks the second great moment in the passage from Asia into Europe,

was only a lens through which the converging rays of Orphic, Hermaic, and Magian wisdom were poured with concentrated power on the Western world. Anaxagoras, the first among the Greeks, according to Aristotle, who affirmed that the world was formed and governed by Intelligence, had travelled in Egypt, and was probably more indebted to the priests of Sais than he was to his own sagacity, for that fruitful idea. So, too, Pythagoras and Zeno, and all the lights of Grecian philosophy, refer us to an elder day. They are only witnesses and *media* of a light which they transmit from an unknown antiquity, with more or less of chromatic error in the passage. We trace that light to the East, we trace it to the banks of the Tigris, of the Ganges, of the Nile, and there its origin is lost in the uncertainty of pre-historic periods. But this is remarkable, that, the higher we ascend the historic record, the more theistic and religious the thought and life of man are found to be. All this points, as it seems to us, to a revelation older than history, from which the theologies of India, of Persia, and of Egypt, and after them the philosophies of Hellas and of Magna Græcia, derived whatever of truth they have incorporated in their systems. If the fathers of the Hebrew race, as the Jewish records claim, enjoyed divine illumination, why may we not suppose that other tribes from the same Semitic stock partook of the same light, if less carefully preserved and less generally diffused among the Elamite and Aramæan nations, than it was in the Abrahamic line? It is fair to presume that the esoteric doctrine of Egypt, as well as the Mithra-worship of Zoroaster, were only traditional fragments of an aboriginal Word coeval with civilized man.

And not only is this primal revelation a just inference, *a posteriori*, from the history of human thought in relation to this subject, but *a priori* also, it is presumable from the very idea of God and the wants of the soul. The presumption which Paley, in his "Evidences," derives in favor of Christianity from the seeming necessity, and therefore antecedent probability, of some revelation to subjects of a moral law, may with equal justice be claimed in favor of a revelation prior to Christianity, and prior to the Hebrew law. If such a revelation was necessary two thousand years ago, it was equally necessary four thou-

sand years ago. If it was necessary to the children of Eber, it was equally so to the children of Ashur and of Aram, and to those "who divided the isles of the Gentiles." The perception of truths so essential to the well-being of man — God, Immortality, and a Moral Law — may reasonably be supposed to have been divinely communicated to infant man, as soon as he became sufficiently mature to be morally accountable, if, indeed, it did not form a part of the original dower of the soul. It may reasonably be supposed that God did not wait the full age of the understanding to make known himself, but that, leaving earthly things to the ordinary, tentative methods of the understanding, he imparted the more necessary knowledge of things divine by a quicker process; interpolating the slow progress of humanity with miraculous intuitions, and kindling with a breath the persuasion of Himself "which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

In this view the best voices of the Christian Church concur. Cudworth, than whom English theology has no brighter ornament, expressly declares his conviction, that those notions of the Pagan philosophers which harmonized with Christian truth were the product of Revelation. It was a favorite doctrine of the Fathers, that all moral teachers and philosophers, who, before the coming of Christianity, were truly wise, and taught essential truth, partook of the spirit of Christianity, enlightened by the same eternal "Word" not yet made flesh. Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyril, Lactantius, and others, bear witness to the strict monotheism which lay beneath the polytheism of the Greeks and Romans. And Augustine says that these nations "had not so far degenerated as to have lost the idea of one supreme God," — thus intimating an earlier period when this idea was more clearly perceived, and more fully embraced, than it was by the Pagans of his day.

But even these testimonies are less explicit and less positive than those of the New Testament writers themselves, who declare, in so many words, this aboriginal revelation. The proem of the fourth Gospel is a broad and unequivocal assertion of this very thing. "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God," or "God was the word." That is, from all eternity

God revealed himself. In this word "was life, and the life was the light of men." "He came unto his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God." Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, maintains the same. "That which may be known of God," he says, "is manifest to the Gentiles," "for God hath showed it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead. So that they are without excuse, because, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image like to corruptible man."

But setting aside these external evidences of a primal revelation, what do we mean when we speak of a "natural" origin of religious truth, as distinguished from divine communication? Does any thing we know of the origin of ideas justify that distinction? Does any experience we have had justify us in affirming that any one of our religious ideas has been generated by the self-action of the mind? We speak of "reasoning out" truth, as if our reasoning were *genetic*; as if logic were an inventive process; as if a philosophical truth, like God, or Free-will, or Necessity, were something deposited at the foot of an induction, just as an answer in arithmetic is duly delivered at the close of the sum. What one of our theological or metaphysical convictions,—if we will be candid with ourselves,—has been obtained in this way? What one of them has been reasoned out empirically, like an arithmetical problem? It is not thus,—it is not by logical methods, by putting *major* and *minor* together, that we have been led to these views and beliefs. The only account we can give of them is, that they sprung up in our minds; that so it was given us, so it was whispered to us, when we turned our thoughts in that direction. It may be we can recall the day and the hour when this or that conviction took possession of the soul. But whence it came we know not, nor how it came; only that it came. It came of itself to the watching mind, and was not elaborated by diligent experiment. Our views of moral and religious truth are not syllogistic conclusions, but impressions, intuitions. They are not



calculated, but revealed in us. We know not how better to characterize the manner of their *genesis* than by calling them "revelations." All personal experience of religious truth is a revelation made in us of so much truth as we experience; and the real distinction between these subjective experiences and what we call, objectively, a "revelation" in religion, is not a difference of origin,—for the truths of any given revelation must be revealed in us again, before we can truly receive them,—but the addition, in the one case, of an outward, historical sanction, which is wanting in the other.

We say, then, that all religion, as far as we have any knowledge, or can form any plausible conjecture of its origin in nations or individuals, is revealed. It is not a product of ratiocination, but the gift of Him whose inspiration giveth understanding. What Jesus said of Peter may be said with equal justice of every one who has hold of a religious truth, be he Christian, Turk, or Hindoo. "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father which is in heaven." And this, too, is worthy of note, that, of all existing historical religions, "revelation" forms a conspicuous element.

On the other hand, all religion, historical or individual, is *natural*, as constituting a natural attribute of man, an essential and indestructible part of human nature. Religion, in some form, Christian here, Braminical there, Magian in one age and Mohammedan in another, is as much a constitutive element of man's nature as any other part of his being.

What, then, is meant or should be meant by "Natural Religion," so called, as distinguished from Revealed? What is the origin of the term, and what was intended by those who first employed it? We suppose it was used originally to distinguish all other religions from the Christian. The Christian world was said to be in a state of "grace," the rest of mankind in a state of "nature." Accordingly, the religious faith of the latter was called "Natural"; and as Christianity was assumed to be the only "revelation," the religion of Christians was distinctively called "Revealed." Then, as certain particulars of the extra-Christian religions were seen to coincide with Christian truth, all that part of religion was set down as discoverable by the "natural," that is, the uninspired

reason, while those particulars of the Christian scheme which were not observed in other religions were considered as constituting the specific topics of Revelation. Hence the distinction of Natural and Revealed religion which obtained its greatest prevalence during the last century. The real distinction originally intended was that of Christian and extra-Christian religions. The terms in which this distinction was expressed are based on a false assumption. "Ethnic and Christian" would have been the true designation, or, better still, "universal and special" religion, — the term universal comprehending what is common to all religions, the term special, as used by Christians, expressing what is peculiar to our own.

By Natural Religion we mean universal religion; we mean those religious ideas which are common to all mankind, or at least to all religions of which we have any accurate knowledge.

It follows, that, in order to determine the elements of Natural Religion, the true method is, not to interrogate our own consciousness, still less to endeavor to test with our understanding what doctrines are capable of being logically legitimated; but to inquire of history and ethnology, what doctrines are common to all religions. Whatsoever religious ideas we shall find to have been embraced in all ages, by all nations, that is, by all nations possessing a systematic theology, — *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, — these constitute the substance of Natural Religion.

The adoption of this principle extends the area of Natural Religion, and brings within its scope some ideas which have not usually been regarded as belonging to that province. The truths heretofore embraced in it are, first, the being of God, with those qualities, natural and moral, which form the essential predicates of Deity, including Creation and Providence; secondly, a Moral Law, with its correlate notion of moral accountableness; and thirdly, a Future Life. To these we must add, in the first place, the idea of *Revelation*, — an idea common to all religions, either in the form of incarnation, as most nations believe, or of a communication made by divinely accredited prophets, as Judaism and Islamism have received it. "Religion and Revelation," it has been said, "are twin thoughts; wherever we find the one, we find the other

also."\* That God should reveal himself, lies in the conception of God,—intelligent natures, susceptible of revelation, being supposed. Scarcely will the rudest Fetichism be found to want this organic element in the idea of God.

*Worship* is another idea of Natural Religion, an idea inseparable from it, and found wherever man is found. Worship, however conceived or rendered; for whatever end, in whatever manner, performed; as voluntary homage or compulsory tribute, for rendering thanks or averting wrath;—worship, whether it consist in animal sacrifices, or in sounding of gongs, or swinging of censers or showing of wafers, or intelligent speech, or meditative silence;—worship of some sort is universal, and never yet has a people been found to which it was wanting. "You may travel the world through," says Plutarch, "and find towns and cities without walls, without letters, without kings, without houses, without wealth, without theatres or places of exercise, but there never was seen, nor shall be seen by man, one city without temples or without making use of prayers or sacrifices for the obtaining of blessings and the averting of curses and calamities. Nay, I am of opinion that a city might sooner be built without any ground to stand upon, than a commonweal be constituted altogether void of worship, or being constituted, be preserved."†

We reckon further, as one of the constituents of Natural Religion, the idea of a radical *Evil*, inherent in the constitution of things, and perpetually warring against the good in nature and in man. Most religions, perhaps all, have personified this principle, and represented the evil that is in the world as the operation of a conscious and voluntary agent, the malign influence of some demonic Power or Powers, whose being is a contradiction of the Godhead, and whose nature and function it is to contest with divine Love the physical and moral empire of the world. The personification is not, we conceive, a substantive, but only an incidental part of this idea. All that is essential in it is the supposition of a negative principle, a contrary power, whose operation is evil, whether

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\* Fox, "On the Religious Ideas."

† Plutarch's *Morals*, Old English version.

it be conceived as an independent, conscious existence, according to the Magian or Manichean theory; whether as the second term in a dualism coördinate with the act of creation, or only as the reaction of a nature lapsed from its first estate and its primal good. In one form or another, the assertion of an Evil Principle runs through every positive religion, and must therefore be received as a fundamental idea of Natural Religion. So fundamental, indeed, is this idea, that Kant, who will not be suspected of any undue bias in that direction, maintains the fact of a radical evil in man, as a cardinal thesis of his "Religion within the Bounds of Reason."

This doctrine of an evil principle in conflict with the good, supposes the supremacy and final triumph of the good, — an idea which all religions, by various myths or symbols or prophecies, have sought to express. It is emblemized in the Greek mythology in the conquest obtained by Jupiter over Typhon. In the doctrine of the Bramins, Siva, the destroying god, whose neck is encircled with a rosary of the skulls of Brahma, — that is, with the ruins of successive creations which he has successively dissolved, — holds his office of destroyer in subordination to that of reproducer and giver of life. He is not only Siva-Rudra, the annihilator, but Siva-Vishnu, the regenerator and conserver of the world; a son of Brahm, and exercising his function in obedience to him.

"So taught of old the Indian seer,  
Destroying Siva, forming Brahm,  
Who wake by turns Earth's love and fear,  
Are still the same."

This idea is developed with the greatest precision in the Magian religion, of which the distinctive principle is a dualism of Light and Darkness, or Good and Evil. This dualism, according to the Shasters, had its origin in an elder unity, and will end in unity again. The good will finally triumph, and the evil will resolve itself into the good, — "their long hostility will be reconciled and confounded in light and love." \*

"Ever wider, ever lighter,  
The holy shafts of light are cast,  
Ahriman himself, the dark one,  
Will be merged in Light at last."

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\* See Creuzer, "Religions de l'Antiquité."



The recognition of Satanic agency, which pervades the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and the Apocalyptic prediction of a time when Satan shall be bound and rendered powerless, constitute the Christian aspect of this universal belief.

Closely connected with this doctrine is that of *Redemption*, which must also be regarded as an element of universal religion. The doctrine of Redemption supposes an alienation or lapse from God and goodness, and affirms a restoration by faith and repentance, through the mediation of some prophet or divine person providentially appointed, or self-devoted to that end. In some religions, the notion of vicarious expiation comes in as a form or condition of redemption. Of this we have examples in the Phœnician myth of *Jeoud*, the son of God, who is sacrificed for the good of his people; in the Prometheus of the Greek, and the Odin of the Scandinavian mythology. But this notion is not essential to the doctrine of Redemption. All that is essential to it is the idea of deliverance from evil, and restoration to God by mediation.

These, we conceive, are the cardinal doctrines of Natural Religion. Others, that might be enumerated, are subordinate to these, and included in them. These are the primal beliefs of mankind, around which all religious ideas cluster. They are found with various modifications in all positive religions of which we have any knowledge, and therefore, according to the principle which we have laid down, are essential constituents of Natural Religion. For what better criterion can we have of what is natural, than the common consent of mankind? This, and not the deductions of philosophy, must be our test and guide in this inquiry. When we ask of the doctrines of "natural" religion, it is a question of fact, and not a question of theory, with which we are concerned. The question is, not what might be believed, or what should be believed, but what *is* believed. It is not what this or that philosopher has demonstrated, or what we ourselves may demonstrate by strict philosophical methods, but what has obtained the general consent of mankind.

And this general consent of mankind, which determines the doctrines of Natural Religion, furnishes also

the better part of their proof. It constitutes the main element in the Evidences, as it does in the History, of religion.

Under this head of Evidences, we shall only glance at the ground-idea of all religion, — the being of God. The writings, ancient and modern, which bear on this point, which aim to demonstrate the being of God, are striking illustrations of that propensity in man to give account to himself of his convictions, which impels him to seek in demonstration a certitude which preëxisted in himself. No conviction of the human mind is stronger than that of the being of God. Of no being or thing, scarcely even of our own being, is the persuasion more absolute. Men differ infinitely in their conceptions of God, in the more or less which they comprehend in that conception. The essential attributes of one conception may be wanting to another, but some conception, representing, however imperfectly, the idea of God, is proper to every sane mind, and may be reckoned a necessary and constitutive part or product of the mind. An atheist, in the strict sense of unbelief in any Power or Law which holds of Deity, is an impossibility. The would-be atheist, if any such there be, cannot extirpate this idea from his soul. It besets him behind and before. If, in the place of God, he exalts Nature to the authorship and governance of the world, he endows Nature with the attributes of Divinity. If he refers all things to Necessity, he makes a God of Necessity. He may change the name as he pleases; he cannot get rid of the fact. To whatever power or principle he assigns the creation and control of things, that power becomes a God to him. Strict atheist there is none, and what passes for atheism, and professes to be atheism, — the denial of a personal, that is, a self-conscious, a self-determining Deity, — is so exceptional a case, that we are warranted in affirming all men theists, with whatever distinctness of conception or intensity of faith they may hold that opinion. Every man believes in God, a conscious God, self-determined, all-determining, a supreme Intelligence and a supreme Will, the centre, source, law, motive, reason, end of all being. It is the strongest of all our convictions. Of all our ideas, that of God is most necessary and universal; but it is also the most undefinable and undemonstrable.

God is the name we give to our highest conception of power and goodness. It is the ultimate fact to which, as cause and ground, we refer all that is or can be ; to which, as archetype and ideal, we refer all possible excellence ; and to which, as providence and law, we refer the destinies of all creatures and the moral government of the world. Any precise definition of this idea is impossible and absurd. To define is to limit, to circumscribe, to run the boundary which divides one being from another. We define an object by separating it from all others. But God, who includes all, cannot be thus separated. He who comprehends all limits is comprehended by none. The nature that explains all cannot be explained. The thought which would determine God is already determined by him. We can no more define him, or comprehend him, than we can go behind our own consciousness, or see behind our own eyes.

As the idea of God is undefinable, so the truth of that idea, the existence of God, is undemonstrable ; and all demonstrations of it hitherto attempted, whether by the ontological, cosmological, or physico-theological method, — or the mathematical, for even that has been pretended, — have proved failures. No one of the speculative proofs aspiring to the dignity of demonstration which have yet been offered possesses any logical value. The utmost that can be claimed for them is, that, on the supposition of a God, they help to illustrate the nature of his being, and the method of his action, and the character of his government. But the existence of God is always presumed in these reasonings. They add positively nothing to the certitude of that truth. As demonstrations, they are utterly valueless, and vanish at the touch of criticism. A little analysis blows them into nothing. The ontological demonstration, "*via aseitatis*," which became so famous, as stated by Anselm of Canterbury in the "Argument from the Highest Good," and which, in one form or another, was repeated by Thomas Aquinas, by Duns Scotus, and others of the Schoolmen, then revived by Descartes, restated by Leibnitz and Spinoza, improved by Kant, and vindicated by Hegel, is nothing more than a logical quibble, and carries no more conviction to the mind than a hundred other scholastic puzzles, which turn on a play of words, and which you

see at once to be absurd and to be irrefragable. Its whole contribution to theology consists in developing the idea of self-existence expressed in the word *Jehovah* three thousand years ago.

The "teleological" argument, or the argument from design, was first stated by Socrates, who argued\* that things which have a manifest use, τὰ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ γεγόμενα, were the work of design, γνώμης, and adduces, among other things, the arrangement of the eye as an illustration of this design. The vein thus opened was diligently worked by the ancients, particularly the Stoics. It crops out occasionally in mediæval theology; it formed the chief stratum in the religious philosophy of the last century; it was quarried with peculiar zest by the English, and yielded its crowning specimen in Paley's "Natural Theology." This argument has the merit of having furnished many excellent and entertaining works in the various provinces of natural philosophy, and in some cases, perhaps, of deepening the reverent wonder which the contemplation of God in creation excites in every well-constituted mind. And when we have said this, we have conceded, we believe, the uttermost that can be claimed in its behalf. As a positive proof of the existence of God, it is worthless. It only proves, that if there be a God, and that God the maker of the world, he has wrought with consummate skill. But the existence of God is all along presumed. The very word *design* is a begging of the question. What we see in Nature is a relation of means and ends. When we call this design, or contrivance, we commit what in logic is called a *subreptio*, we assume the very point on which the argument hinges, and which requires to be proved. The link which connects the thing observed, in this case, with the inference drawn from it, is not a logical synthesis, but a sentiment. No sound mind doubts that there is design in Nature, and no sound mind doubts that there is a God; but moral certitude is one thing, and scientific demonstration is another. The imputation of design in any case is a judgment determined by subjective conditions. We see design where we appreciate the use resulting from a given combination, we ignore it where we do not; although, apart from our private feeling of fitness,

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\* Xenophon, Memorabil. Socr.



there is just the same evidence of design in the one case as in the other. That every conceivable triangle, of whatever dimensions, — whether it be the constellation so called, to the left of Andromeda, inclosing incalculable spaces, or whether it be constituted by lines of an inch long in the margin of a text-book, — should include precisely one hundred and eighty degrees, no more and no less; — that in every product of the number nine the addition of the digits composing that product should give nine, or a lesser product of nine; — these facts have all the substantial proof of design which the theologian finds in the circulation of the blood, or the thoughtful adjustments of the eye, that “cunningest pattern of excellent Nature.”

But they do not convey the same impression of design, because they suggest no evident advantage accruing to any sentient subject. Accordingly, we do not call this geometrical or arithmetical law design, but pronounce it a necessity resulting from the nature of angles and of numbers. And how do we know, the skeptic\* asks, but “that the whole economy of the universe is conducted by a like necessity, though no human algebra can furnish its key,” and that, if we could “penetrate into the intimate nature of bodies, we should clearly see why it was absolutely impossible that they could ever admit of any other disposition”? The heart protests against such a supposition, and the protest is admissible in the court of the understanding; but admissible only as moral presumption, not as positive proof.

The argument from design has its origin in a law of the mind which demands intelligence as the coördinate of being. Whatever conviction it produces is due to that law, and the statement of that law is the measure of that conviction. Hence, the simplest existences are just as convincing as any example in the Bridgewater Treatises. We want God as much for a chaos as we do for a *kosmos*; we want him as much for the first filament of incipient organization, as we do for the finished curiosity of the human hand.

It is related of Napoleon, that, conversing one night on a voyage with some philosophers who were arguing atheistically, he pointed to the stars and said, “You may

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\* Hume, “Dialogues concerning Natural Religion,” Part IX.

talk as much as you please, gentlemen, but who made all that?" This expresses the spontaneous judgment of the unsophisticated mind. This is the first impression produced by the contemplation of the outward world, an impression which no labored induction and no analysis of organized structures can add to or improve, — intelligence coördinate with being, — intelligence the cause of being.

When Vanini was arraigned on the charge of atheism before the Senate of Toulouse, he lifted a straw from the floor, and, holding it up to his judges, declared, "This straw compels me to confess that there is a God."\* It needs nothing more to enforce that confession, when we reason from existence to the cause of existence. A straw will suffice for that purpose as well as an animal kingdom. A straw is just as unaccountable without a God as any process of animal life. For, once suppose matter to be self-existent, and you may give it what attributes and functions you please.

The first aspect of Nature suggests a God as readily as the most recondite wonders which Science has brought to light. It suggests that Power without which a blade of grass is no more possible than a star, and whose action is as much needed to arrange the corolla of the wild-flower that blossoms in our path to-day, as it was, in the beginning, to unfold the corolla of that celestial flower whose petals are worlds.

He to whom Nature, unstudied and undissected, is not the immediate presence of God, will never reach God by dissection. He who cannot see him in the living subject will not see him in the naked paradigm. Take some bright day in the early summer, when the vegetable world, new risen, fills the eye and prospect with its gracious presence and its harvest hopes, — he who, in all that flowering and production, where myriad germs are crowding, rushing, storming into life, — in that teeming nature, so broad and prodigal and multitudinous and minute, which blooms and flits and waves before his eyes, — he who cannot hear, like Adam in Paradise, the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden and the field, will not find him by following the anatomist along the paths of dusty death.

Besides, though we grant to the argument from design

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\* Bayle's Dictionary, Art. *Vanini*.

the uttermost that is claimed for it, what does it give us, after all, but the wonderful mechanician, the unfathomable artist, possessing apparently unlimited power, but not, that we can see, unlimited benevolence, — a *Deus ex machina*, not the God of religion, not the God who heareth prayer, not the Father of spirits and of mercies? It is not for the solving of physical problems that we want a God. If that were all, some Epicurean theory of a self-existent universe might answer as well. What religion wants and declares is a Father in heaven, a moral governor and judge of the rational world. Of this God the natural proofs are our own consciousness, our moral instincts, and the universal consent of mankind, to which we have alluded before.

The existence of God is given in the moral nature of man. If any thing is certain, the moral law is certain, — the law which asserts itself in every man as the supreme rule of action. This is a primary fact of our consciousness. But the moral law supposes a God as the necessary condition of the possibility of its fulfilment. This truth was seized by Kant, who was the first to appreciate its philosophical significance, and who found in it the highest, and only satisfactory proof of a God. And this is the great merit of his philosophy, that, while it demolishes dogmatism, and exposes the uncertainty of our cognitions, so far as they depend on the speculative reason, it gives all the more weight to the practical part of our nature, and recognizes that as the ultimate ground of all religious certainty. Kant was the first to do this. He argues that, since we are commanded to seek the highest good in obedience to the moral law, and since obedience to the moral law is felt to be the condition of the highest good, and further, since human power is inadequate to accomplish that good, we must suppose an almighty moral Being, by whom it is accomplished, as the ruler of the world. That is, morality leads inevitably to religion.\*

More concisely, we may say that our moral instincts, or better, our moral experiences, imply a God as the objective reality to which they relate, precisely as our sensible experiences imply a material world to which they

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\* Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der Vernunft.

relate. In other words, we have the same evidence for the being of God, that we have for an outward world, that is, our own personal experience. And when to our own experience we add the consenting testimony of every kindred and nation, the great affirmative of history, the *aye* of all time, we have an amount of evidence, than which it is impossible for us to imagine any more convincing, more irresistible. This evidence from the universal consent of mankind is pronounced by Cicero to have the validity of a natural law. "*Ut porro firmissimum hoc adferri videtur, cur Deos esse credamus, quod nulla gens tam fera, — cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio; — omni autem in re consensio omnium gentium lex naturæ putanda est.*" \*

This general consent has no exceptions that are worth regarding. There have been professed atheists indeed, and there are atheistical books, and there are theories, old and recent, of Nature and life, which virtually explode God from the universe, and a moral government from the order of things, and make existence a confused jumble of accidents without law or aim; but thoroughgoing, consistent atheism is impossible, or possible only as mental disease. "For if we are not brought to the belief of a God by reason," says Montaigne,† "we are brought to it by force; atheism being a proposition not only unnatural and monstrous, but difficult and hard to be digested by the mind of man. There are instances enough of men, who, from vanity and the pride of broaching uncommon opinions, and of being reformers of the world, outwardly affect the possession of such opinions. . . . Nevertheless, if you plunge a dagger in their breasts, they will not fail to lift up their hands towards heaven. . . . A doctrine seriously digested is one thing, and those superficial impressions are another, which, springing from the depravity of an unsettled mind, float rashly and at random in the fancy." Perfect atheist there is none. Every man believes in a God. Upon every soul there is laid the consciousness of a greater than itself. Every man feels himself bosomed and girt and pierced through by a Power which closes him in on every side, and disposes of him at will. But

\* Cic. Tusc. Quæst.

† Apology for Raimond de Sebonde.



how great the difference between this dim consciousness and a genuine faith in God! If by believing in God is meant merely an impression of Deity, who can look Nature in the face and say, I believe him not? If by believing in God is meant a belief which gives law to the life, who can look into his own heart and say, I believe?

Faith in God, as in all the other truths of religion, is conditioned by the will, and is, in some sort, the product of the will. We conceive very falsely of the mind, if we suppose it to be acted upon mechanically by arguments and proofs, and that so much evidence must needs produce so much faith. No evidence can force belief where the mind is predetermined against an opinion, or create an effective faith, where the mind is indifferent to it. Faith is not an impression, but an act; not passive reception, but moral election. We must will to believe if we would come into positive relations with the truth. And here we reach the precise point at which all our speculations, all honest and earnest inquiry on these subjects, must land us at last; that is, the necessity of faith to perfect any proof or to make any opinion truth to us. Be the evidence what it may, be the truth what it may,—of moral or material import,—faith is required as the necessary complement of that evidence, and the realization of that truth. Facts the most certain, or those so esteemed, are not received without faith. And the most inveterate materialist, the most hard-shelled worldling, leads a life of faith in relation to this visible world, and his business and interests in it. It is only because that business and those interests are too pressing, and leave no room for question, that he does not doubt of the visible world and of every existence but his own. And if faith is wanted for the conduct of worldly affairs, can it be supposed to be unneeded in those of the moral world, and that, if those things be of which religion testifies, they can have any entrance into us except through faith? We learn from our moral nature what things should be believed in order to human well-being. We have that shrewd surmise which the Roman, speaking of faith in God, and borrowing a word from Epicurus, called *πρόληψις*,\* an anticipation, a fore-

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\* "Fateamur hanc nos habere, sive anticipationem, sive prænotionem Deorum, ut Epicurus ipse *πρόληψιν* appellavit, quam antea nemo eo verbo nominarat." — Cic. de Nat. Deorum.

feeling of the truth, which may be regarded as the finger of God directing attention to the truths of the spirit, those primary and everlasting truths which one generation declareth to another, and one civilization hands down to the next; which all revelations reveal, and all churches confess.

These are the truths which must be believed to make existence tolerable to any thinking mind. For what is our life?—this human existence into which we have come, we know not whence nor why, if there be no God and no immortality. It is an island of small extent, in the midst of a wide, dumb, inexorable deep, which is soon to swallow us up. Why we are here we know not; we only know that we *are* here, and we make us a home as we can, and store and adorn it as we may, and we think we could be content to dwell here for ever. But whenever in our hurry we pause to listen, we hear the eternal surf that expects us, and we know that our island is crumbling beneath our feet. Every day the surrounding ocean washes away a part of our territory, encroaching more and more on our mortal life; and we can calculate the time when the whole will be submerged, and the terrible unknown which encircles it will carry us away as with a flood, whither we know not, to issues we know not, nor with what conditions, if at all, we shall rise again into conscious life. Against this daily waste and impending doom, human wit, as yet, has devised no remedy and furnished no solace. Ancient philosophy had two prescriptions, neither of which has been found to answer. The one was the Epicurean "Eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." Of this it was said truly that "man is not so constituted; the death of to-morrow spoils the appetite of to-day."\* The other was the Stoic resource of lofty indifference, superior to fate; more noble, but no more availing. Nothing will avail here but faith; repose in the thought that God is, with all which that truth comprehends. That God is and reigns, that he has measured our span of life, and that, when our foundation in time is removed from under us, he receives us into his arms and sends us forth again to renew our race with new missions in other spheres.

F. H. H.

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\* Sidney Smith.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

*The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis restored. An Essay on Ancient Assyrian and Persian Architecture.* By JAMES FERGUSSON, ESQ. London : John Murray. 1851.

TILL within a recent period, the histories of both Egypt and Assyria were myths, composed of a few vague, untrustworthy traditions, handed down by the Greeks. The discovery of the true reading of the hieroglyphics has placed Egyptian history on a reliable basis, though leaving us still very much in the dark concerning it. The recent explorations of the fossil world which lies buried under the mounds of Mesopotamia are bringing to light the secrets of empires that had perished before the period of authentic history begins ; and they have been carried so far that we are likely soon to know scarcely less of the palaces of ancient Assyria than of those of Greece and Rome.

These remains have a peculiar interest for us, an interest far surpassing that which belongs to the monuments of Egypt. And for several reasons.

The nations from which we are ourselves descended came from the valley of the Euphrates, bringing with them, in part, the germs which have ripened into the civilization of Western Europe. From the same region, emigration and conquest spread into India, — the Sanscrit-speaking people of the East being offshoots from the same original stock.

But these discoveries are especially interesting from their bearing on Jewish history. Abraham came from Assyria, and though his descendants emigrated to Egypt and remained there for centuries, they never lost their nationality. The Egyptians were an isolated people. They never sought to propagate among others either their religion or laws, and, whether conquerors or conquered, were never blended with other nations. The Jews, after centuries of bondage, on returning to the land from which their fathers migrated, brought with them in their faith and in their manners scarcely any trace of Egyptian influence. On the other hand, they had close and strong sympathies with Assyria. They spoke a cognate language, they inherited similar customs and feelings, and their idolatrous tendencies always took the direction of Babylon and Nineveh. These affinities would lead us to expect that the history of the one people would help to interpret the history of the other.



The light mutually thrown by one on the other is greatly increased by another circumstance. All that we know of Jewish history is derived from written records. Monuments, sculptures, inscriptions, all have utterly perished. On the contrary, while Assyria no more than Egypt has left not a single book, she has left abundant monuments of her former greatness, and from these monuments we are able to learn much of her past culture and general civilization. These two modes through which a nation's life may express itself serve for mutual illustration. Thus the descriptions in the Old Testament of the temple and the palace of Solomon, and the architectural remains of Persepolis, throw light on each other, and, by comparison, help to explain difficulties which are found in both.

It is one of the wonderful circumstances connected with these explorations in the plains of the Euphrates and Tigris, that, almost simultaneously with the discovery of the remains of their buried cities, occurred the discovery of the key to the inscriptions on the walls. Without this, the monuments would have been comparatively useless, standing in their mysterious solitudes, mute and unintelligible. But these inscriptions have given a voice to the past, and are revealing to us the records of a history which seemed to have been utterly lost.

The method by which the reading of the inscriptions was discovered is so remarkable, that, though probably familiar to some of our readers, we venture to give a brief account of it. The difficulties attending it were far greater than those which perplexed the deciphering of the Egyptian hieroglyphics. In both cases, the inscriptions were in three languages; but in the case of the Egyptian edict, first deciphered, one of the languages was known, and could be made use of to interpret the others; while in the Assyrian inscriptions, not only the languages, but the very alphabets of all of them were unknown. Omitting the history of the discovery, we confine ourselves solely to the method.

On the walls of Persepolis were found inscriptions, generally short, written for the most part in three different languages, with three distinct alphabets. The first of these, from its taking precedence of the others, was assumed to be Persian, and, what was not clear as to the others, appeared to be evidently alphabetical. Besides this, what was of inestimable advantage, a peculiar mark, of wedge-like form, constantly occurred, in such a manner as to lead to the conviction, which proved finally to be correct, that it indicated the beginning and termination of a word. This sign was between all the words.

Assuming this, two short inscriptions at Persepolis were taken, which, as they are translated, read thus:—"Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of nations, the son of Hystas-



pes, the Achæmenian. It is he who has executed this sculpture." The second, "Xerxes the great king, the king of kings, the son of Darius the Achæmenian." It was seen that the two inscriptions were, in part, identical in form. Then one word occurs three or four times in each, and was assumed to be a title. This, with the peculiar grouping of the words, led to another conjecture, which has since become the foundation of all our knowledge, namely, that the inscriptions were genealogies, containing a genealogical succession of three names. The next question was to find out to whom these names belonged. Professor Grotefend, having satisfied himself that Persepolis was the work of the Achæmenian dynasty, then proceeded to try their names in succession. Cyrus and Cambyses would not fit, for the names in the inscription did not begin with the same letter. Cyrus and Artaxerxes were equally impracticable. He then tried Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes. To explain it in English, if this conjecture were correct, the first and second letters in Hystaspes ought not to occur again; *s* would be the third and sixth letter of that name, and the terminal letter of all three; *i* would not occur again; while *a* would be the second letter of the second name, and so on. If this had been as easy in Persian as in English, his conjectures would have been easily verified. But the true native pronunciation of the names was not then known. By means of the Zend, however, and some varieties in the Greek, the true mode of spelling was so nearly approached, that there could be no reasonable doubt that he had struck upon the truth. Thus far, however, only ten or twelve out of about forty characters had been ascertained. This discovery was made in 1802. In 1836, M. Burnouf added to the extent of the alphabet by means of other inscriptions, and at length Professor Lassen, through a critical knowledge of Zend, Sanscrit, and other dialects closely allied to the ancient language of Persia, nearly completed the task of alphabetical discovery.

In the mean time, Colonel Rawlinson, who had the great advantage of being stationed in Persia, and also of having a large number of inscriptions at his command, in 1835, undertook to decipher them. Without knowing the process which had led Grotefend to his discoveries, and ignorant of what had been effected in Europe, he succeeded, by independent methods of his own, in making out a complete alphabet, which differed from that of Professor Lassen in only one character, — thus making it evident that, through a surprising series of conjectures, they had at length reached the truth.

On applying this alphabet to the inscriptions, the language proved to be, according to the original conjecture, an old form of Persian, with such affinities to the Sanscrit and Zend as to be

capable of comparatively easy and satisfactory translation. It is asserted that now there is not one paragraph in all the inscriptions whose meaning can be considered as at all doubtful. Thus, in regard to the Persian inscriptions, the problem presented by them seems to be completely solved. This was, however, only a part, and the easiest part, of the task to be accomplished. We have said that the inscriptions were many of them in three languages. It was owing to the three distinct nationalities which then existed and have continued to exist in Mesopotamia. A governor of Bagdad at the present time, if he wishes his edicts to be generally understood, must issue them in Persian, Turkish, and Arabic. And so, in the days of Darius and Xerxes, the inscriptions were written in three languages; one in Persian, addressed to the Indo-Germanic races; one in Assyrian or Babylonian, addressed to the Semitic races, the Chaldeans or Arabs; and the third, respecting which but little as yet is known, probably addressed to the Scythian or Tartar part of the population.

On attempting to decipher the Assyrian inscriptions, it was found that the alphabet contained about one hundred and fifty letters. Besides the number of characters, there were other peculiarities connected with the use of the alphabet which perplexed and loaded the problem with difficulties. By means, however, of extraordinary perseverance and ingenuity, they have been to an important extent overcome. The alphabet has been nearly completed. The language is found to be closely allied to the Hebrew and old Chaldean. Thus, through the aid derived from this source, and a comparison of the inscriptions with those in Persian, the meaning of about five hundred words has been determined. Although much less progress has been made than in the case of the Persian inscriptions, the discoveries already made are of importance, and it is by no means impossible that we may disinter and read the annals of Assyria and Babylon, as they were recorded at the time when the events took place.

Very little progress has been made in deciphering the third class of inscriptions, and they are of less importance because their number is small, and, being found only in connection with the other inscriptions, can probably convey no new information. It is not settled even in what language they were written. It is the conjecture of Fergusson that it was one having affinities with the Etruscan; it being a part of his theory that the remains of Etruria bear the decided impress of an Assyrian origin.

The inscriptions of Persepolis belong to the Achæmenian dynasty, extending from the time of Cyrus to the death of Alexander. But the inscriptions on monuments in different parts of the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates carry us back to the time of

Nimrod, more than two thousand years before the coming of Christ. Of course the discoveries as yet made are very imperfect, but the interest awakened, and the number of persons now engaged upon them, give promise of very important results.

The volume from which we have condensed this account is chiefly devoted to a reconstruction of the palaces and temples which have been disinterred in these perished capitals of the East. From their existing remains, the author endeavors to show what they were when first erected. Whether always successful or not, he makes it abundantly evident that the arts had made great progress long before Greece had emerged from barbarism. Not the least interesting portion of the work is that devoted to tracing the connection between the arts and architecture of Greece and the elder civilization of Egypt and Assyria. While Greece idealized and perfected whatever she touched, the theory of this author is, that she drew whatever is Doric in her arts from Egypt, and whatever is Ionic from Assyria. The civilization along the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates was doubtless most rude, fluctuating, and imperfect, — the civilization of an Oriental despotism; but it is equally clear that, in certain respects, it was a magnificent one. In this great valley, — the hive of nations, — powerful empires rose, and flourished, and decayed, from which the seeds of a better civilization were scattered abroad into other regions. Compared with them, ancient Greece belongs to the modern world, and Grecian, and Indian, and it may be Etruscan art, may be found to meet, as in a common centre, in the elder art of Assyria.

The work, of some portions of which we have attempted to give an abstract, is occupied very much with speculations which future discoveries may or may not prove to be well founded; but, independent of their merits, the volume is one of much interest in itself, and of greater interest from its showing how much of learning, ability, and enthusiasm are now directed to the exploring of these monuments of what seemed to be a lost world.

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*The Golden Legend.* By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW.  
Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1851. 16mo. pp. 301.

MR. LONGFELLOW has chosen wisely in giving to this work the form of a dramatic poem rather than that of a regularly constructed drama. For, apart from any other consideration, it should seem that his powers are better adapted to narrative or lyric poetry than to dramatic composition. Thus his *Spanish Student*, though replete with tenderness and pathos, and thickly



studded with passages of rare beauty, failed to meet the requirements of the drama. It was a production of very great and obvious merit; but it has never obtained the popularity which we believe it would have acquired if it had been cast in another form. His *Evangeline*, on the other hand, is almost a faultless production, and at once gained a greater popularity than any other American poem has ever obtained. The form which he has now adopted is well suited to his genius, and seems at the same time peculiarly fitted for the subject he has selected. In truth, it is better adapted to a poem like the present than a strictly narrative or dramatic form would have been.

The scene is laid in the early part of the thirteenth century; and the whole substance of the poem is characteristic of the Middle Ages. The story is vague, mysterious, and legendary, and may be briefly sketched as follows. A German prince, who is a student of alchemy and a laborious reader, has been attacked by a painful disease, which baffles the physicians and plunges him in deep depression. As he is sitting in his tower bewailing his former happiness, Lucifer, in the guise of a travelling physician, comes in and assures him that his wonderful Catholicon will effect a certain cure. Thereupon he produces a bottle of the *Elixir Vitæ*, which the prince drinks; and in consequence of this intercourse with the Devil he is excommunicated and driven into exile.

"And forth from the chapel door he went  
Into disgrace and banishment,  
Clothed in a cloak of hodden gray,  
And bearing a wallet, and a bell,  
Whose sound should be a perpetual knell  
To keep all travellers away." — p. 35.

He finds a refuge with an honest peasant family, in whom the gratitude of the feudatory to his lord overcomes the fear of the Church. Here he wins all hearts by his kindness and gentleness; and Elsie, the eldest daughter, a girl of fourteen, who has learned that he cannot be cured,

"unless  
Some maiden, of her own accord,  
Offers her life for that of her lord,  
And is willing to die in his stead," (p. 62)

resolves to make the sacrifice herself, in order that he may live and be happy. Lucifer, who is the busiest person in the poem, and who still keeps up his early interest in the unfortunate prince, insinuates himself into the village confessional during the absence of the priest, and persuades the prince and the girl's mother to consent to her death. Thus directed, it is at once determined that the prince and the maiden shall go to Salerno,



where the sacrifice of her life is to take place. The journey occupies a considerable part of the poem ; and the different objects which they see on the way are happily described. At Strasburg they witness the performance of one of those miracle-plays, or mysteries, as they are more commonly called, which were so often represented during the Middle Ages, and by which the priests sought to tyrannize over the minds of an ignorant and superstitious people. During their tarry at the convent of Hirschach, where they remain one night, we are shown a graphic picture of the various ways in which the monks passed their lives ; and this is, perhaps, the best portion of the poem. Arrived at length at Salerno, Lucifer once more assumes the garb of a priest, and again endeavors to persuade them to complete the sacrifice. Elsie adheres to her determination with a woman's constancy and self-devotion. But just as she is on the point of executing her long-cherished purpose, the prince interferes and prevents it. Touched by her generous and affectionate spirit he soon after marries her, is cured, and returns home amidst general rejoicing.

In this brief and imperfect outline we have only glanced at the more salient points of the story, that we may the more clearly indicate in a few words what seems to us to be the author's chief purpose. We may remark in passing, however, that the treatment is striking and original, and that there are numerous passages of great beauty scattered through the dialogue and soliloquies. The character of Elsie is one of our author's finest creations, and is hardly inferior to either Evangeline or Preciosa. The other characters are less prominently brought out, and are for the most part merely outlined. The design of the poem, when considered apart from the story, is, as we conceive, to present a series of pictures illustrating different aspects of life in the Middle Ages, which when taken together shall give to the reader a clear and connected impression of the prevalent habits and sentiments of those ages. Whoever should undertake to draw a correct picture of the Middle Ages would signally fail if he did not pay particular attention to certain marked characteristics, each of which is more or less clearly exhibited by Mr. Longfellow in the poem now before us. Herein, we conceive, is its highest merit. It is to a very noticeable degree representative of the age in which its scene is laid. Mr. Longfellow has not forgotten how earnestly men everywhere were devoted to alchemy, and the kindred studies ; how great and terrible was the temporal power of the Church and the clergy ; how intimate was the relation between the feudatory and his lord ; how depressed and entirely subject to man was the condition of woman, even in the midst of so much outward honor and splendor ; how

vicious were the lives of a large part of the monks and priests, yet how laborious and devoted were others ; how widely extended and deeply rooted was the belief in a personal agency of the Devil in the affairs of men ; how casuistical and disputatious were the men of letters ; how avaricious and grasping were the feudal lords ; and how all classes bowed before the crusading spirit. All these points we find skilfully suggested or happily treated. Nor are his usual graces of style and beauty of imagery wanting, though less apparent than in some of his other productions.

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*Sir Roger de Coverley.* By the SPECTATOR. [With Notes and Illustrations by W. H. WILLS.] Boston : Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1852. 16mo. pp. xii. and 233.

It is nearly fifteen years since we last read the De Coverley papers ; but we still remember the unmixed delight with which we then perused them. Scattered along through the first seven volumes of the Spectator, they had sufficient unity to make a distinct and connected impression upon the mind, even in the midst of so much intellectual grace and beauty as are found in those inimitable essays. But those who now read them for the first time will realize still greater pleasure from them when separated from the other essays and taken in connection with each other. The character of Sir Roger de Coverley, as has been frequently observed, presents one of the most pleasing pictures of the country gentleman of Queen Anne's time to be found in the whole extent of English literature, and possesses an historical value, apart from its interest as a work of the imagination, which should not be overlooked. One of the chief merits of the Spectator is, that he gives us a true representation of the state of morals and manners in his own time. Nowhere is there a more exact or a more lively view of English society, or a more finished model of a pure and elegant style ; and it is much to be regretted that the entire work is not more often and more generally read than it now is. The volume before us contains all the papers relating to the Worcestershire knight, except the account of his adventure in the Temple cloister, which has been most judiciously omitted, and a few verbal omissions, where Steele had offended against our present standard of propriety. The notes appended by Mr. Wills are full and valuable, and throw much light on passages which would otherwise be somewhat obscure to readers not well versed in English history.

*Annals of the Town of Warren [Maine]; with the Early History of St. George's, Broad-Bay, and the Neighboring Settlements on the Waldo Patent.* By CYRUS EATON, A. M. Hallowell: Masters, Smith, & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. xii. and 437.

THIS volume has been prepared under somewhat peculiar circumstances. For nearly half a century the author has been in the habit of occasionally making memoranda of passing events; and when Mr. Williamson was writing his History of the State of Maine, Mr. Eaton furnished him with a notice of Warren. This notice, consisting of thirty or forty manuscript pages, he was subsequently advised to enlarge. Soon afterward he met with an accident which deprived him of sight, and confined him in a great measure to a room with an invalid daughter; and the parent and the child have spent several years in collecting and arranging the materials of which the volume is made. The daughter, with a modesty which can be appreciated by her friends, but which we think in this case she might with propriety have sacrificed, has not allowed even her name to appear, except on the map; and the reader does not know how many exhausting months she has cheerfully labored for his entertainment and instruction. The father, characteristically, says the "work is one of very humble pretensions." He adds: "Its primary object was the history of the town of Warren; but this, in its earlier stages, was found so blended with that of the neighboring places, that it was thought best to include a cursory account of their settlement, progress, and condition, down to their incorporation."

The work contains a narrative of events from 1605 to 1850. The topics are numerous and interesting. The coast was early visited by Pring, Champlain, Weymouth, and others. In 1614, Captain John Smith, of Pocahontas memory, spent several months there, and was so delighted, that, after his return to England, he published a book and map, and travelled over a great part of that country for the purpose of prevailing on the people to plant a colony at Monhegan or vicinity. This was before the landing of the Pilgrims.

For a long time St. George's was one of the frontier settlements. A few individuals were located there almost immediately after the landing at Plymouth. The fortifications were many times attacked by the Indians, and vigorously, and valiantly, and always successfully defended. On the spot where the fort was, now stands the mansion of the late Major-General Henry Knox, the confidential friend of Washington; and within a few rods of it are the graves and gravestones of men and women who died there before settlers had penetrated the wilderness.

even to the distance of a few miles in the rear. The same spot was often visited by the Royal Governors of Massachusetts, long before the Revolutionary War; and there conferences with the Indians were repeatedly held. On the river and in the neighborhood, colonists from Ireland, Scotland, and Germany settled at different times, about the middle of the last century. Mr. Eaton has gone into a minuteness in details, which will command the admiration of antiquarians and make his book one of increasing popularity with each successive generation. How so much which is of general interest could have been collected by him, blind, without a superabundance of this world's goods, and at a distance from libraries, surpasses our comprehension. His success, however, shows what can be done by diligence and perseverance. The book contains many graphic descriptions. There is abundance of incident and anecdote. We are often struck with the beauty of the thought and the expression. We frequently find ourselves laughing at the humor; and before we are aware the tear is starting as we read the descriptions of the sufferings of the fathers and mothers of the settlements. The inhabitants on the St. George's owe to the author a debt which they can never repay. The family in that neighborhood which does not have a copy of the book for instruction and for reference must be ignorant of its value or incapable of appreciating it.

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*Collections of the American Statistical Association.* Vol. I.  
Boston: T. R. Marvin. 1851. 8vo. pp. 596.

A NOBLE beginning of a most arduous work. The American Statistical Association does not propose to discuss theories, or foretell results; but to collect and arrange existing facts, thus becoming the reliable repository of authentic data. It is not a fountain but a reservoir. Historians, in all departments, may go to its resources and obtain the simple truth, unmixed with the errors with which selfish or blundering ignorance may have associated it. The difficulty in this labor is the long and accurate analysis of facts necessary to winnow truth from the chaff in which it lies concealed. To philosophical inquirers, what a comfort is it to know that intelligent and conscientious men are searching out, sifting, and proving the substantial media on which their most important and durable conclusions may be safely based. Statistical societies, which began with Achenwall, in Prussia, in 1749, have been established in every great capital of Europe, and by joint labors are, at this hour, recording facts which are to correct many gross errors of the past, and guide fu-



ture inquirers to new and safe results. The American Statistical Association had its origin in Boston ; and it intends to visit and examine every State and Territory in our Union, and to secure authentic information upon every department of human pursuit and social condition. How important is this labor in a young country like ours, where half of all we do is experimental ! The true inductions can be made, with the least chance of mistake, by a society of competent scholars, who can classify all the facts and who sit as a jury without bias.

The Association intends "to print its 'Collections,' from time to time, in numbers, or parts, as their funds will warrant. Each part will be complete in itself, and will be offered to purchasers without reference to those which may succeed." The first volume, now before us, contains the researches of perhaps a thousand minds, and all the documents have been examined by the society and prepared for publication by its secretary, Rev. Joseph B. Felt, whose gratuitous labors in this and kindred studies are beyond computation, and whose accuracy and faithfulness are equalled only by the generous and friendly aid he offers to every seeker after truth. We know of no man in New England who carries to these investigations a more patient spirit or a wiser discretion, a more profound learning or a broader charity. The volume before us is proof conclusive. We have space only for its table of contents : — "Statistics of Towns in Massachusetts." — "Heights, Latitudes, and Longitudes of Eminences in Massachusetts, above the Level of the Sea." — "Latitudes and Longitudes of Objects whose Positions have been determined by secondary triangles." — "Latitudes and Longitudes of Lighthouses in Massachusetts." — "Indexes to Part First." — "Statistics of Population in Massachusetts." — "Index to Part Second." — "Statistics of Taxation in Massachusetts, including Valuation and Population." — "Appendix." — "Indexes to Part Third."

The most valuable historical documents, compared with official contemporaneous reports, are gathered within this volume, and are accompanied with those references and illustrations of the compiler, which make the publication richer than gold to the lover of durable truth. Whoever would know the value of property, the systems of taxation, the course of law, and the origin of institutions, will find a rich treasury in this pioneer volume ; and will be surprised to see how statistical facts disclose the exact latitude and longitude of the ship of state during every moment of her eventful voyage.

*Life and Letters of Joseph Story, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Dane Professor of Law at Harvard University.* Edited by his Son, WILLIAM W. STORY. Boston: Little & Brown. 1851. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 574, 676.

ONLY the first volume of this admirable biography of an excellent and an honored man appeared in season to allow of a perusal before our page goes to the press. We have been so charmed and interested by what we have read, that we feel no hesitation in pronouncing a high eulogium on the work. The editor's task has been turned into a service of love. The rich and abundant materials which he had at his hand have left him but little more to do than to arrange letters, and other expressions of opinion on public and private matters, whether in print or in manuscript, in the form of an autobiography. Indeed, Judge Story commenced at Washington, in 1831, an autobiographical letter addressed to his son, which is printed by portions in these pages, illustrated by such comments as were necessary to explain or to complete the information which it gives us. The editor is the only son, and now the only surviving child, of Judge Story. He has faithfully sought to repay his great filial indebtedness by consecrating his talents in more than one direction to his father's remembrance. The noble marble bust of Judge Story which adorns the Library Hall at Cambridge, and the drawing from which is copied the frontispiece of the work before us, are both the productions of the son's genius.

The charm of this biography to us lies in its frank and cordial spirit, its simple and unstudied manner, its ingenuous freedom of statement, and its complete portraiture of the heart and mind of its distinguished subject. In these respects the biography is in perfect harmony with the look, the character, and the whole life of him whom it presents to us anew. The succession of high honors through which he advanced — filling all places faithfully, and adding to their dignity — was well calculated to draw out his various natural endowments and to test his resources and hidden capacities. His warm, life-long friendships, and the transparent candor and hearty sincerity which he threw into his letters to his many correspondents, make those documents something very different from what we generally have in the constrained or cautious letters of prominent men. Perhaps some critics may question the prudence of putting into print a sentence which we have noted here and there, in which opinions are expressed on men and things connected with recent strifes or interests. But the entire lack of all unworthy motives or elements in the composition of his character makes it safer to

print all that Judge Story said or wrote, than it would be to allow the same liberty in the case of most men in public or private life.

Born of an honorable, though not of a wealthy parentage, Judge Story was indebted to his natural powers, and to his most faithful culture and exercise of them, for all his success in life. His youthful experiences in Marblehead — the town where he was born — are related with pleasant particularity. No one can read the account of his devoted toil in preparing to enter Harvard College, or of his noble aim and his kindly course of conduct when he was a student there, without feeling a glow of sympathy and admiration for him. His accomplishing in six weeks the tasks of a College class for six months, is an index to his whole character and course in life. How few of all the members of a class, as young as he was, pursue their course with that maturity of high purpose, with that forecast of the dependence of the whole future upon that stage of their training, which inspired and guided him! He won his first honors as a lawyer, not only through his own unaided efforts, but in spite of a severe professional and social prejudice against him on account of his political opinions. Religious bigotry likewise assailed him. He was one of the first prominent persons in this neighborhood who embraced and distinctly avowed Unitarian sentiments. He had been educated as a Calvinist, and the dark and repulsive features of that grim theology, which were not at all softened then, as they are now, by its advocates, drove him for a season into scepticism, from which he found relief and perfect religious peace through life in more Scriptural and ennobling views of the relations between God and man.

The narrative before us leads us on with constantly increasing interest to the various stages of an eminent and a useful career. Justice is done to the domestic virtues and to the private relations of the subject of the biography. His home experiences under the sad or the agreeable circumstances of life present him to us in a way to win our respect. His early successes at the bar were such as reward but very few, even of those whose ambition seeks them or whose arduous toil would seem to deserve them as a due requital. His unquestioned sincerity of purpose, and his unsullied integrity as a civilian, a legislator, and a judge, during times and amid occasions of bitter sectional strife and party jealousy, relieved him of most of that misconstruction or obloquy of which public men receive and inflict so much. And this fact is the more remarkable when we consider that Judge Story passed through that trying ordeal, a change in his political party relations.

We would commend these volumes to our readers as deserving of the very highest esteem on account of their subject and the mode in which he is offered to an enduring regard.

*A Memoir of the Rev. John Edwards Emerson, First Pastor of the Whitefield Congregational Church in Newburyport, Mass., with Extracts from his Writings.* By the Rev. RUFUS W. CLARK, Pastor of the North Church, Portsmouth, N. H. Boston : William J. Reynolds & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 406.

A BIOGRAPHY is of interest and value in the proportion in which it has for its subject the man himself, and not the accidents of his position ; and in a moral and spiritual aspect the soul's life of the humblest denizen of the earth is of inestimably higher worth than the mere chronicle of the external events which constitute the history of the greatest man of his age. Tried by this standard, the book before us presents strong claims upon our Christian public. In outward experiences it is meagre ; for its subject had hardly girded on his armor for the conflict with ignorance and sin, when he was summoned to a higher sphere of duty. Mr. Emerson was a child, a youth, a man of rare attractiveness of person and manner, of superior mental endowments and attainments for his age, and one whom none knew but to love, admire, and praise. Born in Newburyport, a graduate of Amherst College, educated for the ministry at Princeton, he was spared for a pastoral life in his native town of but little more than a year's duration, during the greater part of which, as a victim of consumption, he was measuring his rapid way to the grave. An earlier, more entire, and more harmonious self-consecration of one's whole being to the service of Christ we have never known. His Christian character seemed mature in childhood, venerable in youth ; and, short as was his career, in spiritual influence, usefulness, active devotedness while any remnant of strength remained, eloquent example when all that he could do was meekly and hopefully to suffer the will of God, his life seems long and rich beyond the ordinary measure of threescore years and ten. From early boyhood, he was wont to record his devotional thoughts, resolutions, plans, and exercises ; and these writings, together with numerous letters of similar purport, constitute the greater part of the volume before us. The biographer remains modestly in the background, so far as these materials suffice for his purpose ; and supplies their deficiency in a chaste and simple narrative, redolent of the breathings of a kindred spirit, and constituting a beautiful memorial of Christian friendship, sympathy, and affection. As an incentive to early piety, as a *vade mecum* for the young disciple through the temptations of school and college life, as a suggestive manual for the pastor who would be faithful to the cause of his Master, as a source of the richest counsel and consolation to the sick and dying, we are acquainted with no religious biography worthy of warmer or



more unqualified commendation. Less than this we cannot say ; — had not our pages for this number been preoccupied, we would gladly have said much more, and have given extracts which would have fully justified our praise.

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*A History of the Second Church, or Old North, in Boston. To which is added, A History of the New Brick Church. With Engravings. By CHANDLER ROBBINS, Minister of the Second Church. Published by a Committee of the Society. Boston : John Wilson & Son. 1852. 8vo. pp. 320.*

THE spare hours of a wintry Sabbath were most delightfully occupied by us in the perusal of this volume. With the fresh impression of interest and instruction which it has left upon our minds, we would assure our readers that the annals of but few of our churches, rich as they are, afford such excellent materials for the historian. We have recently presented, in our pages of *Religious Intelligence*, some documents relating to a crisis in the history of the Second Church, and to its propitious result, in an arrangement which promises the highest religious prosperity. That result was just brightening before the hopes of pastor and people at the commencement of the third century of the history of their Church. The occasion favored the sacred obligation, — which has always been regarded as so just and attractive by the pastors of the older New England Churches, — of renewing the record of ancient days and of holy memories. Never has this obligation been discharged with a more genial alacrity, or with a more becoming spirit of wisdom, veneration, and love, than by Mr. Robbins. He has elevated the standard by which such performances have been judged.

There is matter of controversy in the volume. Into this we will not now enter further than to say, that Mr. Robbins has felt it his most solemn duty to protest against the delineation of the characters and course of Increase Mather and his son Cotton, which is given by President Quincy in his *History of Harvard University*. In the most respectful manner, and in terms of speech which show that fair justice, and not a professional or a chivalrous partiality for a predecessor, guides his pen, Mr. Robbins meets the duty which evidently was painful to him. We are impressed with the manliness and with the Christian sincerity of his method of dealing with a subject which brings into collision his sentiments of regard for the living and the dead. Indeed, we may say of the whole contents of the volume, that their spirit is eminently that of the Gospel, considerate and charitable to human weakness, appreciative of manifest sincerity un-

der every aspect, even when it disguises itself by foibles, and nobly alive to the claims of goodness, whether signalized by eminent achievements or attested only by a ruling purpose. We might quote from this book sentences and paragraphs which are really gems of literary composition, as well as beautiful expressions of just sentiment. The reading of the book has done us good, and has done that good to the best part of us. We rejoice that the ancient light set in a new candlestick diffuses such a fragrant and brightening gleam back into the past and on into the future.

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*Miscellanies.* By the Rev. JAMES MARTINEAU. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. New York: Francis & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 472.

THE seven articles comprised in this book are upon themes of great intrinsic interest and weight; and are of equal practical and philosophical importance. They virtually constitute seven distinct volumes; for in the quantity of information they show, in the amount of labor they imply, in the ability of the various discussions they carry on, and in the justice and value of the criticisms they make and the conclusions they establish, they contain far more than seven of the common volumes written upon the subjects which they treat. For the benefit of such of our readers as have not seen these *Miscellanies*, we must briefly indicate the ground covered and the topics handled in them. A biographical account of the career and achievements, and a thorough estimate of the personal qualities, of Dr. Priestley; a similar article upon Dr. Arnold; an elaborate paper upon "Church and State," criticizing several writers on that subject, and giving an analysis of the distinctive origin and definite offices of those institutions; a review of Parker's "Discourse of Religion," including a full discussion of the relation between God and Law; a review of Newman's "Phases of Faith," examining with sufficient detail the leading elements of experimental religion and the personal position of Christ in the historic Christian religion; a critical dissertation upon the theological and political groundwork and structure, moral and religious inconsistencies and tendencies, and practical difficulties, of the "Church of England"; and, finally, in "The Battle of the Churches," a dissertation of the same character as the last, showing, in various aspects, the related ingredients and attitudes of the Church of England and the Church of Rome. Besides the contents hinted in this rapid outline, a multitude of minor questions and incidental thoughts are investigated with fulness of knowledge, richness of

faculty, and decision of stroke. Such are the themes considered ; and as to the general manner in which they are examined and presented, we hesitate not to say, that no kindred contributions are to be found in the English language superior to these, — if any as meritorious.

We feel it a privilege and a duty to use whatever influence the present opportunity may give us in calling the attention of the American public to the writings of Mr. Martineau, for we think these writings ought to be in the acquaintance of all earnest aspirants after the love and lore of religion and theology. The rare merits of a great man — especially if he be at a distance, and be chiefly occupied with the highest subjects of thought, and on the advanced limits of those subjects — are but slowly recognized. Justice is not commonly done among us to the very great gifts, attainments, and claims of the author to whom we are now referring. His printed productions — composed of practical sermons, theological essays, and miscellaneous articles — would amount to about eight average-sized volumes ; and they are, invariably, real contributions to the subject in hand, whatever it be. With all these writings we are quite familiar, having read or studied most of them many times. Therefore, if what we say of them be a misstatement, or an overstatement, of their claims, the error results not from haste or prejudice, but from personal inability correctly to measure the nature and amount of their actual merits.

One of the chief distinctions and aids of Mr. Martineau is the extent and thoroughness of his metaphysical knowledge and training. He has a copious command of the stores and forms of philosophical systems, an acuteness of discrimination, an assured strength and method of analysis and procedure, which betoken severe discipline in the mental gladiatorship of the schools, impart penetration and weight to every blow he strikes, and give him an advantage over most men at every step. Not that his powers and acquisitions are greater in the sphere of metaphysics than elsewhere. He is most of all remarkable for diversity and completeness of endowments, full fidelity of education, large range and perfection of accomplishments. No competent and unprejudiced person can read what he has published without being convinced that he possesses, in a rare degree, all the equipments of profuse learning and thorough culture ; that he is a finished master of the best weapons of native genius, accumulated experience, and practised skill. Occasionally he manifests no small force of combined wit and humor, permeated by moral earnestness and invincible logic. Imagination in him is a power of wonderful comprehensiveness and fineness, interpenetrating all things with its wizard lights and shades. The rhetoric of his

choicest pieces is absolutely unequalled, within our knowledge, for its consentaneous variety, elevation, precision, brilliancy, and marvellous exuberance of exact scientific and gorgeous poetic imagery. To all these characteristics is to be added the crowning excellence of conscientious, persevering labor. These productions are essentially no extemporaneous effusions, but the matured results of hard work. Indeed, Mr. Martineau is one of those few moderns who seem to feel towards the public press as Cicero felt in regard to the Roman Rostrum, that it is right to bring "*nihil huc, nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industria.*"

There is no monotony in Mr. Martineau's works; that is prevented by the balanced strength and delicacy, natural play and work, of all the spiritual powers at once, — none are dormant, but each contributes something. In his character and writings appear English observation and sense, Greek intellect and imagination, German heart and soul. He possesses a moral firmness, which, with resistless encounter, beats coarse systems of error prostrate; and a subtile instinct or intuition of right, which, with infallible aim, makes fatal ethical punctures in the most ingenious sophistry of bad moralists. His stern loyalty, even stoic consecration, spreads over his pages an atmosphere of duty so high and rare, that, while its holy purity braces the active energies, its seeming loneliness may feel frosty to the passive sympathies; but, at the same time, there are scattered at frequent intervals passages which demonstrate the existence in their author of mystic heights and depths of faith and fervor, — burning snatches from the rapt experience of a devotee, wondrous touches of pathos and saintliness that could have been written only by a pen dipped in the solemn tears of a pious heart. These works, it is true, display no fanatic heats, no mechanical excitements, no galvanic jumps of life; but they *are* characterized by a deep, persistent earnestness, a calmly intense and pervading vitality of feeling, which is as uncommon as it is healthy and sincere, and as profoundly beneficent to those who appreciate it as it is foreign to those who complain that this substance is cold and this style stilted.

The papers now offered to the public, with a neat and manly introduction by the Rev. Mr. King, betray the continual and varied presence of the qualities here enumerated. Though, perhaps, for ethical sharpness and breadth, none of them may be compared with the searching criticism of "Whewell's Scientific Morality"; for profound philosophical power and value, none of them with the grappling discussion of "Mesmeric Atheism"; for accurate and beautiful historic survey, concrete painting and argument, none of them with the unanswerable essay entitled "Europe since the Reformation"; and for magnificent exuber-



ance of matter, rushing fluency of style, brilliant originality of conception, and sharp offensive and defensive dialectics, with discriminating reference to the very van of present theological thinking and want, none of them with the masterly review of "The Creed of Christendom."

For the credit of the scholarly and reflecting men among us, we trust an immediate sale of the present volume will secure the publication, in rapid succession, of the remaining uncollected works of the author.

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*Swallow-Barn : or a Sojourn in the Old Dominion.* By J. P. KENNEDY. Revised Edition. With Twenty Illustrations by Strother. New York : G. P. Putnam. 1851. 12mo. pp. 506.

WE read this delightful romance of real life with a keen interest when it first appeared. On reviewing our impressions of it, we are first struck, somewhat sadly, with the thought of the rapidity with which even a few years will alter the aspects of life, and change the tone of manners. Mr. Kennedy has described, with all the charm of Goldsmith's pen, the hearty hospitality, the relishing freedom and vivacity, and the easy indolence of life in Old Virginia, in the days when it still retained the glory of its ancient repute. The richness of his delineations of domestic incidents, of out-door sports and occupations, and of the familiar intercourse of neighbors in those palmy days, makes us feel as if we had already in this country some of those bewitching associations of romance which we generally attach only to the homes of an older soil. If the Virginian characteristics are fading away into the past, as is commonly affirmed, Mr. Kennedy's admirable record of them in these pages will be sure to make his work a classic in our literature. We assure those who have not read it, that it will furnish them with a most genial pleasure for a winter fireside.

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*Alban : a Tale of the New World.* By the Author of "Lady Alice." New York : G. P. Putnam. 1851. 12mo. pp. 496.

THIS book is to be followed by a "Sequel." It certainly needs one, and if it were filled with censures and corrections of the principles stated or implied in the volume before us, the "Sequel" would need to open no new incidents. The book is one of the religious (?) novels of our day, — for the most part,

an unhallowed and mischievous class of publications. Their religious views and processes often involve a trifling with the best-established moral principles.

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*Sixteen Months at the Gold Diggings.* By DANIEL B. WOODS. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 199.

COMPACT as this book is, it contains a great deal of interesting information ; such as geography and history, journalizing on sea and land, personal adventure, an account of mining processes, with chemical investigations, and statistics of trade. The author, who is a Christian minister, is a reliable and competent narrator. His volume will be found both interesting and permanently valuable.

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*Greenwood Leaves : a Collection of Sketches and Letters.* By GRACE GREENWOOD. Second Series. Boston : Ticknor, Reed, and Fields. 1852. 12mo. pp. 382.

THE lady who prefers to write under the title just given, rather than under her proper name, wields a vigorous pen and utters lively and earnest thoughts. She avails herself of the largest liberty now claimed for her sex in matters of opinion and in the expression of it. She is equally at home in a criticism of Jenny Lind, of the members of Congress, and of Christian ministers, whether preachers of "the lower law" or of "the higher law." The romances, which fill more than half of the volume, are made the vehicle of her moral sentiments and judgments upon the themes of present agitation in our social, political, and religious circles. There is no weariness or dullness in her pages.

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*The Autobiography of a Clock, and other Poems.* By MARY CUTTS. Boston : Crosby & Nichols. 1852. 16mo. pp. 247.

WE have read the longest piece, which gives the leading title to this volume. It is a pleasantly rhymed narration of household experiences and the incidents of human life as witnessed by a family clock. That useful monitor starts, in its bright freshness of gilding, with a newly married couple, on the journey of life, and keeps the reckoning well, interspersing here and there a moral. Fashion, after a while, banishes it into a lonely corner, and as it passes from the ownership of the father to that of the son, it exchanges a town dwelling for the country. The poem has a very simple purpose, and it accomplishes it.

*The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the Year 1852.* Boston : Little & Brown. 12mo. pp. 352.

THIS is the twenty-third volume of a series of yearly publications whose character and value are well established. The Editor, George P. Sanger, Esq., devotes pains — not unwearied certainly, but most faithful — to secure fulness and accuracy in the important tables and statistics which his work embraces. All that pertains to the yearly calendar of the heavenly phenomena which concern the earth is to be found here, and year by year this department of the Almanac is enriched by the results of keener and exacter scientific observation. The larger portion of the book is filled with economical and statistical information concerning the Union and the several States. Such details relating to the other portions of the globe as have a similar interest are briefly given. Those who are already acquainted with the work will need only to be made aware that the new volume is within their reach.

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*The Excellent Woman as described in the Book of Proverbs.* Boston : Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 12mo. pp. 249.

THE American reprint of this anonymous English work is presented to our public by a chaste, eulogistic introduction from the graceful and kindly pen of Rev. Dr. Sprague, — no poor warrant of its worth. It is illustrated with tasteful engravings, and printed with great clearness and beauty. The meaning of the thirty-first chapter of the Book of Proverbs — from the tenth to the thirty-first verse, comprising the celebrated Hebrew description of the virtuous wife — is explained with sufficient critical learning ; and the chief traits in the character and conduct of an excellent woman are unfolded, and recommended, with good sense, force, and admirable taste and variety.

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*Memorials of the Life and Trials of a Youthful Christian in Pursuit of Health, as developed in the Biography of NATHANIEL CHEEVER, M. D.* By REV. HENRY T. CHEEVER. With an Introduction, by Rev. GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D. D. New York : Charles Scribner. 1851. 12mo. pp. 355.

THE story here told, with the reflections interwrought, cannot fail to rebuke the selfishness, hardness, immoral scepticisms, and undevout moods but too likely to be found in all of us who shall

read it, and to quicken within us desires and purposes of more earnest and complete religious consecration. This is really high praise ; and it is nearly all the commendation the book deserves. But, touched and strengthened as we have been by the perusal of the memorials, we have not the heart to stop and ungratefully point out what are, to us, displeasing faults of taste in the execution of the editor's task.

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*Utterance ; or Private Voices to the Public Heart. A Collection of Home-Poems.* By CAROLINE A. BRIGGS. Boston : Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 255.

THESE pure and pleasing poems are evidently the effusions of a warm, sincere, and aspiring spirit. They take their theme, tone, and color from the simple and touching, the high and quickening, or the pathetic and solemn, realities of common life. "Home-poems" fitly are they entitled. "Voices of Affection," "Voices of Cheer," "Voices of Grief," "Sacred Voices," and "Voices by the Way," their "utterance" can scarcely be heard, and heeded, without producing emotions now animating, now saddening, but ever profitable and holy. We invoke success upon the fair author's adventure.

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*Elegant Illustrated Works published by the Messrs. Appleton of New York.*

WE have observed from year to year a most striking improvement in the subject-matter and in the tasteful appearance of works designed for presents at the season of Christmas and New Year. None of our publishers have done more to promote this improvement than the Messrs. Appleton of New York. The demand for such works is very extensive, and the circumstances under which they are most generally bestowed makes it desirable that they should have an intrinsic value. This firm have a supply of two beautiful English works, "The Beauties of the Court of Charles the Second," and "Christmas with the Poets," the latter being peculiarly elegant and valuable. Of the original publications of the firm, we would especially mention the two following.

"The Women of Early Christianity" is a rich quarto volume of portraits, with illustrative letter-press by several American clergymen. The subjects are St. Cecilia, Martha, Petronilla, Flavia Domitilla, Felicitas, Potamiana, Adelaide, St. Agnes, Catherine of Alexandria, the Empress Helena, Mary of Egypt,



Monica, St. Genevieve, Bertha, Abbess of Coldingham, Hilda of Whitby, and Editha. The only abatement of our high appreciation of this volume is the necessary admixture of the mythical and legendary element in most of its characters. This peculiarity, however, will not repel or injure those who know how to allow for it. Indeed, the theme makes it unavoidable.

"The Land of Bondage; its Ancient Monuments and Present Condition: being the Journal of a Tour in Egypt. By J. M. Wainwright." 8vo. pp. 190.

The distinguished and much respected author of this volume, in his former work, entitled "Pathways and Abiding-Places of our Lord," had illustrated those sacred localities which are associated with the bodily presence of the Saviour in the Holy Land. On the elegant pages before us, we have the record of his own personal observations in the land where the Israelites were in bondage four hundred and thirty years. The title of the book, however, is not chosen with sole reference to the captivity of the Israelites, for, as the author forcibly remarks, Egypt, beyond all other lands, "has witnessed the continual serfdom or slavery of its inhabitants." Taking his starting-point from Rome as the beginning of his narrative, Dr. Wainwright gives us many lively and instructive sketches of his tour, and of the ports upon his route before he reaches Egypt. The cultivated taste of the author, his long professional study of the literature of ancient days, and his discriminating judgment, give a charm and an authenticity to his statements. The exquisite illustrations of the topography and the antiquities of Egypt, in abundant engravings, contribute to enrich his volume. We commend it in the highest terms, as a gift-book that is sure to gratify the heart and the eye, and to improve the mind.

"Louis's School Days: a Story for Boys. By E. J. May." 16mo. pp. 325.

The author of this volume has endeavored to make fiction a vehicle for communicating not only the practical truths of morality, but also the methods of growth and influence through Christian principles. The basis of the religious theory on which it proceeds is, that man is born in sin, a child of wrath, estranged from God. In no form or shape can we countenance this abominable doctrine, which flings such an insult upon our Creator in alleging that he calls into existence successive generations of children who receive from him a corrupt and ruined nature. We go even further in our own detestation of such a doctrine, and we maintain that no one who actually and literally believes it will ever be instrumental in bringing into the world a victim of such a deadly taint. If the little infant over whose cradle we bend with such

affection is actually an embryo fiend, we must all affirm that the sooner our race can die out, the better will it be for the universe. The fact that the advocates of this doctrine do not hesitate or shudder in assuming the parental relation, is proof sufficient to our minds that they do not believe it *as they believe other things*; as, for instance, that it would be unsafe to construct "an infernal machine." Bating this worse than heathen theology, there is a human interest in this little book which will make it a favorite with boys.

"Legends of the Flowers. By Susan Pindar." 16mo. pp. 178.

✓ This is a pretty book, most appropriate for a present to a little girl. Its theme is one, the charm and instruction of which can never be exhausted. Where there is not a natural taste for flowers, such books will help to form it, and in forming it will deck the mind and the heart in some of their innocent sentiments and beauties.

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Messrs. Crosby & Nichols have published, in two volumes (12mo, pp. 442, 440), "The Speeches, Addresses, and Occasional Sermons of Rev. Theodore Parker." Most of the contents of these volumes have already been before the public in separate pamphlets or in the newspapers. A sermon "*Of General Taylor*," (the reader will be careful to observe that the discourse was not written *by* the late President,) and an address on "The American Scholar," appear here for the first time. Mr. Parker's writings contain truths, often unwelcome, but most wholesome truths, expressed with all the earnestness and fidelity of an ancient prophet. From some of his opinions we dissent as heartily as we accord with him in others. His friends will be gratified by this collection of his scattered writings.

The same firm has published "The Christian Doctrine of Sin: an Essay. By James Freeman Clarke." 16mo. pp. 172.

Mr. Clarke has here dealt with the most glorious doctrine of the Gospel. He presents it in its most striking light as an original doctrine of revelation. He seeks to set it forth in the strictest accordance with the terms in which it was taught by Jesus Christ and his Apostles, and to trace its influence and effects upon the characters and lives of human beings. The author does not accept any one of the popular views upon this subject as commonly defined, but aims to unite the elements of truth in several of them. Had we more space left, we should be glad to follow Mr. Clarke through his interesting discussion. There is but little in the book which we should be disposed to controvert, or pause

upon with any hesitation to accept it. We thank him for this simple and forcible exhibition of views which seem to us eminently worthy of a more grateful and inquisitive examination. We shall be glad to receive from him similar essays upon other Christian doctrines. He has qualities of mind and a style of writing which are especially suited to such work.

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James Munroe & Co. have published a new edition of that excellent manual, the "*Elements of Logic*," by Archbishop Whately. This edition is revised by the author, and, besides many alterations and amendments, contains a very large amount of new matter.

✓ From the same publishers will soon appear two new stories by the very popular author of "*A Trap to catch a Sunbeam*," entitled, "*The House on the Rock*," and "*A Merry Christmas*." Also, "*The Memory of Washington, with Biographical Sketches of his Mother and Wife; Relations of Lafayette to Washington; with Incidents and Anecdotes in the Lives of the two Patriots*" (16mo, pp. 300), with two plates; — "*The Greek Girl, in Two Cantos*," by James W. Simmons; — and "*The Poetical Fate-Book*," by a Lady.

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Messrs. Harper & Brothers have reprinted an English work under the title of "*A Lady's Voyage round the World; a Selected Translation from the German of Ida Pfeiffer, by Mrs. Percy Sinnett*." 12mo. pp. 302. One may go *round* the world without going over it, or seeing more than a very small part of it. Our lady traveller confines her descriptions chiefly to the Eastern continent, and the revelation of her own personality, as she expresses opinions, or records her adventures, makes the most interesting feature of her volume.

We had hoped before this to have devoted some of our pages to an examination of the *Memoirs of the late Dr. Chalmers*. It was originally promised by his biographer and son-in-law, Dr. Hanna, that the work should be completed in three volumes. The third, which had been delayed by the author's illness, has now appeared, and has been reprinted by the Messrs. Harper. In this we find promise of a fourth volume, to contain new materials of interest. We wait for its appearance.

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\* \* \* From the multitude of pamphlets which have recently accumulated upon us, we select a few for very brief mention. The *Oration delivered before the Literary Societies of Alleghany*

College, in Meadville, Pa., July 1, 1851, by Rufus P. Stebbins, President of the Meadville Theological School, appears with the title, "Academic Culture." It is a vigorous and classical plea in behalf of high and thorough literary culture. Delivered at the time of our annual academic festivals, it unfolds the claims and the blessings of that kind of training which our institutions ought to afford, and presents the relations between such culture and the political, social, moral, and religious interests of our land.

"The Christian Martyrs, or the Conditions of Obedience to the Civil Government," is the title of a Discourse preached in West Bridgewater, by J. G. Forman, recently the pastor of the First Church in that place. The Discourse is a statement of the right and the duty of peacefully refusing to obey the law of the land when it is at issue with the law of God and the teachings of conscience. The argument is illustrated by the examples of the early Christian Martyrs, and is substantiated by quotations from eminent divines and civilians. Following the Discourse is, "A Friendly Letter to said Church and Congregation on the Proslavery Influences that occasioned his Removal."

"An Address before the Norfolk Agricultural Society, at Dedham, September 24, by George R. Russell," is a production which combines the skill of the practical farmer with the large observation of a widely experienced man, and the accomplishments of a scholar. No one can read this pamphlet without realizing the diversity and number of the elements which enter into any form of common sense and practical wisdom, and having some idea of the point at which labor and study, toil and skill, the work of the field and the lore of the library, unite to advance the health and wealth and virtue of the human race.

"Some of the Difficulties in the Administration of a Free Government, a Discourse pronounced before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Brown University, July 8, by William Greene." This Discourse touches delicately upon some tender points in the party strifes and the social discords of the present day, though it does not enter into the contest rudely, or in a way to offend. With the principles advanced in it, most minds will accord.

Rev. Joseph B. Felt, of this city, has written and published, "A Memoir, or Defence of Hugh Peters." This pamphlet, which deserves praise for its true antiquarian faithfulness, has a higher merit, as it vindicates the memory of a most devoted and suffering man from foul aspersions which his enemies — though not without previous contradiction — have long cast upon him.



## INTELLIGENCE.

## RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

*Ordinations.* — MR. THOMAS J. MUMFORD, of the Theological School at Meadville, Pa., was ordained as Pastor of the Unitarian Church at Detroit, Mich., on October 16. Introductory Prayer and Selections from Scripture by Rev. Mr. Winsor of Rockford, Illinois; Sermon by Rev. J. F. Clarke of Meadville; Ordaining Prayer by Rev. Mr. Conant of Geneva, Ill.; Charge by Rev. G. W. Hosmer of Buffalo, N. Y.; Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. Mr. Shippen of Chicago, Ill.; Concluding Prayer by Rev. Mr. Maxham, of Erie, Pa.

MR. HORATIO STEBBINS, of the Theological School at Cambridge, was ordained as Colleague Pastor with the Rev. Calvin Lincoln, of the First Congregational Church at Fitchburg, on November 5. Introductory Prayer by Rev. J. F. W. Ware of Cambridgeport; Selections from Scripture by Rev. A. Smith of Leominster; Sermon by Rev. A. P. Peabody of Portsmouth, N. H.; Ordaining Prayer by Rev. C. Lincoln; Charge by Professor Noyes of Cambridge; Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. J. F. Brown, West Cambridge; Address to the Society by Professor Francis of Cambridge; Concluding Prayer by Rev. Dr. Hill of Worcester.

MR. ADAMS AYER, of the Theological School at Cambridge, was ordained as Pastor of the Unitarian Church at Chelsea Ferry, on November 12. Introductory Prayer by Rev. Joshua Young of Boston; Selections from Scripture by Rev. Mr. Leonard of Chelsea; Sermon by Rev. R. C. Waterston of Boston; Ordaining Prayer by Rev. Calvin Lincoln; Charge by Rev. Dr. Gannett of Boston; Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. S. H. Winkley of Boston; Address to the Society by Rev. F. T. Gray of Boston; Concluding Prayer by Rev. F. N. Knapp of Brookline.

*Installations.* — REV. CLAUDIUS BRADFORD, late of Bridgewater, was installed as Pastor of the Congregational Church in New Salem, on November 9. Introductory Prayer and Selections from Scripture by Rev. P. Smith; Installing Prayer by Rev. Dr. Willard of Deerfield; Address to the Pastor by Rev. A. Harding, Chairman of the Committee of the Society, to which the Pastor elect replied.

REV. CHARLES ROBINSON, late of Medfield, was installed as Pastor of the Congregational Church in Peterborough, N. H., on December 4. The Introductory Services and Sermon by Rev. J. H. Morison of Milton; Installing Prayer by Rev. C. Lincoln; Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. L. W. Leonard of Dublin, N. H.; Concluding Services by Rev. Mr. Saltmarsh of Wilton.

REV. DEXTER CLAPP, late of West Roxbury, was installed, as Colleague Pastor with Rev. Dr. Flint, over the East Church in Salem, on Wednesday, December 17. The Introductory Services were by Rev. O. B. Frothingham of Salem; Sermon by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury; Prayer of Installation by Professor Francis of Cambridge; Charge by Dr. Flint; Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. Dr. Thompson of Salem; Address to the Society by Rev. F. D. Huntington of Boston; Concluding Prayer by Rev. T. T. Stone of Salem.

*Dedications.*—A new house of worship for the Unitarian Society in Savannah, Ga., was dedicated on November 16. The Sermon on the occasion was preached by the Rev. Mr. Penniman; the other Services were by Rev. Dr. Gilman of Charleston, S. C., and Rev. Mr. Taggart of Nashville, Tenn.

A place of worship under the name of the "Preble Chapel," was dedicated in Portland, Me., on October 29. The edifice is erected for the purposes of the Ministry to the Poor in that city. The land was given by Madam Preble. The means for erecting the building were contributed by the two Unitarian societies, which support the Ministry. The Sermon on the occasion was preached by the Rev. R. C. Waterson of Boston, and has been published. Its theme is "Christianity applied to Cities." It was eminently suited to its purpose, and the earnest and effective treatment which it received from the preacher gave a new impulse to one of the most blessed works of our time. Rev. Dr. Bigelow and Rev. S. B. Craft of Boston, Rev. O. C. Everett of Charlestown, Rev. Horatio Wood of Lowell, and Rev. W. H. Hadley of Portland, all in active service as Ministers to the Poor, were present and took part in the exercises of the occasion.

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#### LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

\* \* Among the Gift-books for the young which appear in such numbers at this season of the year, we notice particularly the following :— "Tales of the Caravansary; or Companion Stories to Bardouc. Translated from the French of Sarrazin, by L. Willard." (Crosby & Nichols, 16mo, pp. 247.) From a cursory examination of this little volume, we think it will interest and instruct young readers, though it illustrates truth through heathen morals. — "Young Americans abroad; or Vacation in Europe: Travels in England, France, Holland, Belgium, Prussia, and Switzerland. With Illustrations." (Gould & Lincoln, 16mo.) Here we have something of a novelty, at least in the form in which tourists present their observations. Three pupils travelling with their tutor, Rev. Dr. Choules, write home letters to a fellow-pupil, and here we have them in print. — "The Island Home; or the Young-Castaways. Edited by Christopher Romaunt, Esq." (Gould & Lincoln, 16mo, pp. 461.) A book of most attractive contents for those young readers who, after exhausting Robinson Crusoe, ask for more of the same sort.

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#### ERRATUM.

In the translation of Rückert's "Bethlehem and Golgotha," page 443 of our last number, at the fifth line from the bottom, for "race" read "line." The rhyme will thus be restored.